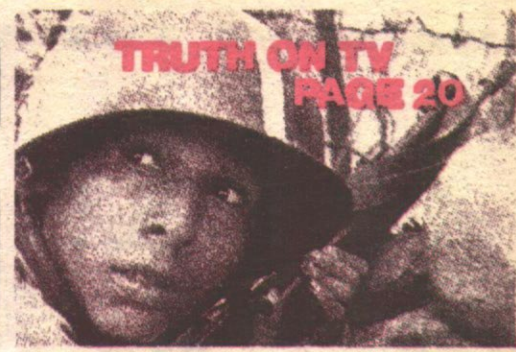


# IN THESE TIMES



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SEPTEMBER 8-14, 1982

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## THE HIDDEN AMERICAN ROLE IN LEBANON

PAGE 3

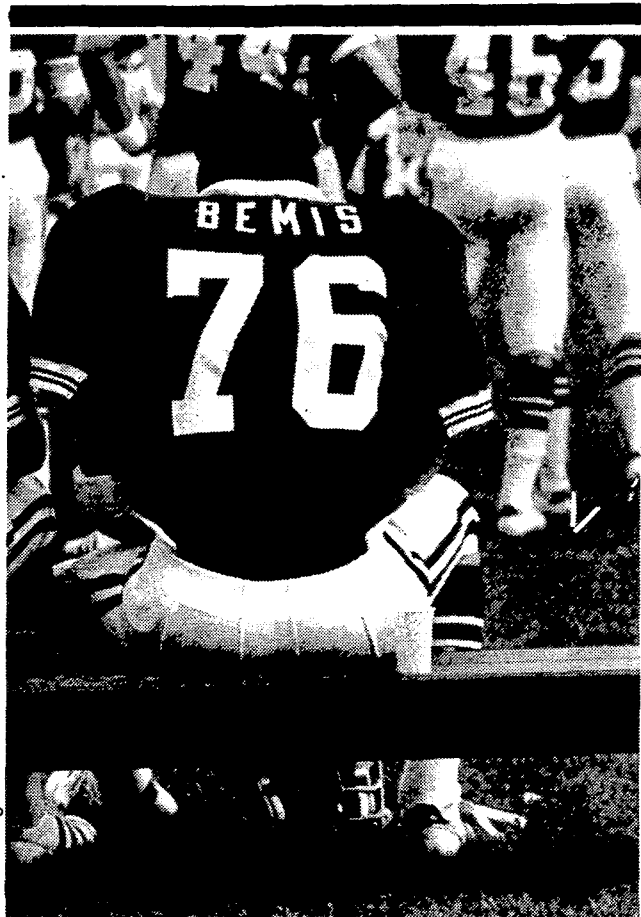
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## PESO PANIC IN MEXICO

PAGE 9



# THE INSIDE STORY



Lionel Delvingne

## Playing hardball with team owners

By Chris Allen

CHICAGO

Players are calling owners "the enemy." Owners seem convinced they're fighting a Communist plot. And the fans...they probably think both groups are just plain greedy. Or nuts. After all, football is only a game, isn't it?

Hardly. That naive notion was sacked long ago. The big guys don't play for fun. If any doubts remain, look at the fat \$2 billion TV contract the National Football League (NFL) recently signed. Business—that's what makes the football spiral. In recent years, football has become a highly evolved corporate animal that now sees fit to lobby Congress for special antitrust legislation after it was unable to block the Raiders' move from Oakland to L.A. this year. Now along comes somebody demanding a big bite of the wealth. The NFL doesn't know whether to growl or howl.

It's got to hurt. The professional practitioners of America's favorite fall sport (though soon to become an all-year pastime, when the United States Football League [USFL] opens in 1983) have stunned team owners by demanding a 55-percent share of NFL gross revenues. They want more than half of the whole take—and they want it off the top. "Not that!" owners of 28 NFL teams moan in unison. "Anything—no, not anything—but not that! Not a cut of the gross!"

There are 1,500 players in the league. Compared with their counterparts in baseball, basketball and hockey, they claim they're taking a financial beating. According to the NFL Players Association (NFLPA), basketball players averaged \$215,000 in 1981, baseball players \$180,000, hockey players \$115,000 and football players less than \$85,000. The union's wide-ranging collective bargaining proposal to NFL management would approximately double player salaries across the board.

That sounds like a tall order, and it is. But the numbers the players are staring at in terms of projected NFL revenue are equally staggering. The NFLPA contends the league will earn more than \$600 million this season, with some \$168 million of that representing new television dollars. The owners make money win or lose—despite low attendance or a losing season. The TV contract runs through 1986. After that, there's the prospect of hefty increases through cable television.

The owners say any subscription-style cable TV razzmatazz remains "very far down the road." But as for income potential, it looks like the sky's the limit.

So there's money to be made now and in the future, and the players want to see more of it come their way. Of course they don't expect the owners to offer much out of pure generosity. At this writing, the players anticipate the owners will next propose a 20-percent wage hike. But they feel they can do better than that. Much, much better.

As in most labor disputes, the players' ultimate weapon is a strike. On August 30, player representatives from the 28 NFL clubs gathered in Chicago to talk business. There were rumors that a strike deadline would be announced. But after an ineffective 1974 walkout in which players returned to training camp after 41 days and played with no contract for three years, the players are playing it cool. As NFLPA president Gene Upshaw stressed to the media, "We got a game plan and we're going to follow it." And you don't say what your game plan is before the game. If a strike does come—and the odds seem to favor one—Upshaw said it will be called at a time that will "put the greatest pressure on the owners and the least pressure on the players." He declined to elaborate, but most observers expect a move three weeks into the season.

The most striking aspect of the whole ruckus is the manner in which players insist on getting their share. They don't just want big raises. They're stuck on the cut-of-the-gross concept and claim that much is non-negotiable. The suggestion is that the initial 55-percent figure may not be rock-hard. But unless the new money comes wrapped in a percentage-of-gross package, the players will strike.

At least that's what they say. And both Upshaw and NFLPA executive director Ed Garvey have devoted considerable time to emphasizing the unified spirit of the players. They say 90 percent of the union membership has authorized the call for a walkout, if deemed necessary by the players' bargaining team.

Some teams, they say, have been hard to keep from walking out even now—before the NFL regular season opens September 12. "It's more than a percentage of the gross," Upshaw says. "There's lots of issues.... Let's talk about the dignity part of it, because we are the game. We're the parts that roll off the assembly line. It's the knees, shoulders, backs and all those things we're concerned about."

But it's anyone's guess what will happen if the owners decide to dump large sums of money on the bargaining table. Players might be tempted, but they'd be playing the owners' game. Bargaining would go on as before—bring your agent but leave that cut-of-the-gross nonsense behind. Players are human, though they often seem physically too wide to belong to the species. With the prospect of doubled salary, they could lose sight of their loftier ambitions.

Owners are human, too. There's a lot at stake for them. Although they've suggested the union's preferred method of payment is threateningly un-American, they haven't bickered too much about the dollar figures mentioned. And they've harped no more than expected on the actually unfounded fear of "giving away the store." A percentage-of-the-gross arrangement needn't topple the current league power structure. (That can come later.) But it's not clear the players would want that, even if they could get it. Mostly, they want to play football and get a "fair share" of the megabucks they help generate.

Adding to the pressure on the owners—and no doubt

encouraging the players—is a monster springing from the NFL's own capitalistic heart—a rival league. "Not that!" You can almost hear the owners cry, realizing perhaps at the same time that as long as the new USFL behaves itself, there will be plenty of profits for everybody. But the threat is there: a well-heeled competitor, complete with TV backing and ready to pounce on any advantage offered by the established, respected, mighty NFL.

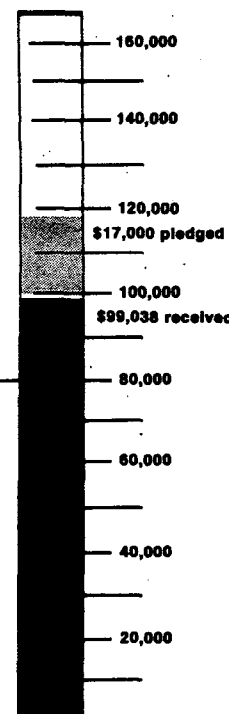
As for the players, who could ask for anything more? The emergence of the USFL virtually eliminates the chance of a lockout by owners, because players could quickly peddle their services elsewhere. The existence of the new league also strengthens the players' threat of a strike. Though contract language or other considerations might prevent a mass exodus of NFL players to the USFL, a long strike could conceivably help the newcomer's business. The NFL has many ways it aides member clubs—most notably the pooling and equal distribution of TV money—but it's probably not anxious to furnish a newly created competitor with a football-starved populace.

The NFLPA appears to have picked a good time to play hardball with management. Garvey acknowledges that the goal of a percentage of the gross is virtually unprecedented, though he draws some parallels to deals in the entertainment industry, of which football is, more or less, a part. He's adamant that the cut be applied to revenues and not to profits, as some conciliation-minded folks have suggested. "We don't trust them to tell us what profits they're making."

Wild times on the gridiron, these are. The players demanding a percentage of the gross or nothing, the owners declaring never, never, never. What would we do without football? We're soon likely to find out. ■

Chris Allen is a Chicago-based journalist.

## And after the deluge, the renewal



In the past two weeks, 629 *In These Times* subscribers have contributed \$26,415 to our \$160,000 fund drive, bringing the total number of individual contributions to 2,436 and the amount of money in hand to \$99,038. With \$17,000 more pledged our total, so far, is \$116,000.

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## IN THESE TIMES

# Israeli attack no surprise to Pentagon



By Claudia Wright

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**T**HE LEBANON WAR HAS DIFFERED from the four earlier Arab-Israeli wars in the ferocity of the Israeli attack and the degree of U.S. involvement. There has been widespread speculation in the international press, bordering on conviction in the Arab world, that these two things are connected—part of a joint Israeli-U.S. plan to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and redraw the political map of Lebanon once and for all.

This much is certain: The violence has been far more concentrated, indiscriminate and devastating than in the earlier wars. And the record of American actions from just before the fighting began through the first week of the war indicates that the U.S. anticipated what was about to happen.

From the preliminary and censored estimates of casualties currently available, it is apparent that the number of Israeli dead in the Lebanon war is less than the numbers killed in each of the earlier wars, except for the 1956 Suez conflict. On the Arab side, however, one must go back to the first war of 1948 to count a similar number of casualties.

One reason for this recent shift in the ratio of casualties was the one-sidedness of the battle between the enormous firepower of the Israeli air, naval and artillery forces and the light arms operated by pockets of Palestinian guerrillas holed up in the Lebanese cities of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut. Although Israel had been claiming for months that the PLO tanks, truck-mounted rockets and heavy artillery had given the Palestinians a new degree of military potency, the new weapons either failed to enter the action and were captured or were easily demolished by the Israeli blitzkrieg. And Israeli command of the air and sea was never challenged by the Palestinians, who have no air or sea force.

Israel's victories over the Syrian air force were inevitable for the following reasons: the superiority of Israel's F-15s and F-16s over the Soviet-built MiG-21s the Syrians used; the greater flexibility of Israel's American-built *Sidewinder* air-to-air missiles; the enormous Israeli advantage in electronic techniques for suppressing their adversaries' target computers; and the complete Israeli radar surveillance of Syrian aircraft movements inside Syria itself. With radars overlooking southern Syria from Mt. Hermon and unchallenged aerial radar reconnaissance from the F-4 *Hawkeye* aircraft looking over Syria's western border, Israel's air force could anticipate every move the

Syrians made, while Syrian pilots were flying blindly into ambushes their own radar could not spot.

Thus, the military evidence confirms a markedly different picture of the military balance between Israel and its Arab neighbors than either Israeli leaders or their supporters in Washington have claimed in the past.

And the following evidence indicates that the Reagan administration did a great deal to encourage the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and to assure its military success.

## Who's telling the truth?

In an Israel radio interview on August 14, Israeli Defense Minister Gen. Ariel Sharon suggested that U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and former Secretary of State Alexander Haig not only had advance knowledge of Israel's plans to invade Lebanon, but also had approved those plans. Weinberger's office responded by calling Sharon's claim untrue, saying, "At no time did the Israeli defense minister say or allude to the fact that Israel had plans to invade Lebanon."

Weinberger's statement is not an outright denial of Sharon's claim. Instead, he evades the issue of how much he knew when Sharon was in Washington last May. The Israeli general did not need to discuss the invasion plans directly, because those details had already been made known to the Pentagon from U.S. intelligence reports and from earlier visits to Washington by military officers, including the visit, just days before Sharon arrived, of his aide, Arye Ganger.

On May 20, as Sharon prepared to leave Israel for Washington, a spokesman told the Tel Aviv newspaper *Ma'ariv* that "Jerusalem wants to maintain complete freedom of action" regarding Lebanon. That was a *carte blanche* for the Israeli military, and apparently nothing Sharon was told at the Pentagon indicated that there were U.S. reservations about Israel's plans. Indeed, everything that happened during Sharon's visit between May 22 and 27 suggested the U.S. government's resolve to back him as much as possible.

On May 24, the administration sent an informal notice to Congress of its decision to sell Israel 75 F-16 jet fighters, worth about \$3 billion. Two days later, an administration offer of another 11 F-15s, costing \$510 million, cleared Congress. The offer was then dispatched to Jerusalem. On the same day, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to add \$125 million to the \$785 million in economic support funds already authorized for Israel in 1983, and to convert the entire \$910 million to a grant, dropping the administration proposal that one-third be treated as a loan. The reason, the

committee claimed, was that "Israel's qualitative edge" in weaponry "continues to erode...necessitating increased arms purchases," at the same time heavy debts on past arms purchases were straining the Israeli economy.

On May 26, Haig gave a speech in Chicago hinting for the first time at how far the U.S. was prepared to go to find a new political solution in Lebanon, and how far, therefore, the Israelis could go toward eliminating the Palestinian and Syrian presence in Lebanon.

"The time has come," he said, "to take concerted action in support of both Lebanon's territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders and a strong central government capable of promoting a free, open, democratic and traditionally pluralistic society." To Sharon and the Israeli cabinet, there was no doubt what this "concerted action" meant. Former President Jimmy Carter has said he was told by "very knowledgeable people in Israel" that their plans to invade Lebanon had been given "a green light from Washington."

After Carter made these comments in an interview with the *Atlanta Constitution* on August 19, Secretary of State George Shultz responded by saying that Carter was "not correct." "My understanding is that the U.S. government was not informed and the U.S. government was and is on the record as having opposed the invasion." Like Weinberger's response to Sharon, this also evades the specific contention that Washington knew of the invasion in advance and tacitly gave its go-ahead. It was possible, Shultz said, that "somebody came through here and talked about [the invasion] as a possibility."

Even if Sharon and his subordinates had spoken vaguely of their plans, U.S. naval deployments in the eastern Mediterranean could not have occurred with-

Jerusalem to justify its attack on Lebanon. The *Kennedy* then headed for the Suez Canal, passing through immediately after the assassination attempt. By the time Israeli forces had begun to move, the *Kennedy* had taken up a position off the Lebanese coast, where its surveillance and interceptor aircraft covered Israel itself and Israeli naval operations off the Lebanese coast from surprise air or sea attacks from the west. The *Ranger's* relief of the *Kennedy*, said the Pentagon officials at the time, was routine, but the timing of the move and the *Kennedy's* new battle station were not.

Also on June 1, according to the Pentagon, the aircraft carrier *USS Eisenhower* and its escorts left Naples, sailing south-east to take up a position within range of Soviet naval anchorages near Crete. In a third coordinated move U.S. Marines and

## With advance knowledge of the invasion, the U.S. sent arms to Israel and moved in ships.

amphibious landing equipment were assembled at the Spanish port of Rota, and readied for sailing to Lebanon.

According to naval officials, the Marine task force left Rota on June 6—the day the war began. Its purpose, according to the official Pentagon press spokesperson, was "humanitarian—in case of the need of evacuation of Americans from Lebanon."

*The American Marines now in Beirut are part of American forces brought to the area before Israel pushed into Lebanon.*



out at least 10 days' advance warning of the likely date of the Israeli attack. According to the Pentagon, deployments were ordered even before Sharon had left Washington for home, thereby stationing one of the most powerful U.S. armadas ever assembled in the eastern Mediterranean offshore from Lebanon at the same time Israel invaded. The armada gave that operation vital protection from Soviet or Arab threats from the west.

According to the Pentagon, in one of these deployments, the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier the *USS Ranger* was ordered to sail from San Diego, Calif., to the Indian Ocean to relieve the *USS Kennedy*. The *Ranger* reached its station June 1, two days before the shooting of the Israeli ambassador in Britain, Shlomo Argov, an assassination attempt used by

That was most likely a cover, because U.S. Marine preparations for a mission in Beirut appear to have preceded the war. According to Lt. Col. Robert Johnston, an officer with the 32nd Amphibious Marines who landed at Beirut on August 25 and spoke that day with a reporter from the Mutual Broadcasting System, his unit had been in training for such an operation "for two or three months." Navy officials in Washington and at Atlantic Fleet headquarters in Norfolk, Va., reveal that the helicopter carrier *USS Guam*, from which the main force of Marines disembarked at Beirut, had originally set sail for the Mediterranean from Norfolk on May 24. It reached Rota on June 3, the day of the Argov shooting.

*Continued on page 10*



# IN SHORT

## No safety in numbers

More than 4,000 mishaps occurred at U.S. nuclear power plants in 1981 and over 83,000 atomic workers received radiation doses, according to a study conducted by Ralph Nader's Critical Mass Energy Project. Using more than 300 Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, the study found that of the 4,060 mishaps, 140 were especially serious. "These findings show that the day-to-day operation of nuclear reactors is plagued by equipment failures, human errors and design defects. The multitude of serious safety problems is a sure sign that without major changes it is just a matter of time before another serious accident occurs," the report said.

But safety is in the eye of the beholder. The Atomic Industrial Forum, the nuclear industry's major trade association, responded that the industry has an "exemplary safety record."

## Reagan miscasts leading ladies

One-time matinee idol Ronald Reagan seems to have lost his edge with women. Some polls show up to a 15 percent gender-difference in approval of the president, so the Reagan administration has appointed a White House Coordinating Council on Women to shore up his standings, John Judis reports. The council will consist, however, of four men—White House officials David R. Gergen, Edwin L. Harper, Joseph Wright and Peter E. Teley—and only two women—Public Liason Elizabeth Dole and Personnel Assistant Helene von Damm. The administration also announced that Dee Jepsen, the wife of Sen. Roger Jepsen (R-Iowa), would replace Wendy Borchert as the chief liason on women's issues. While an aide to her husband, Jepsen worked on the Family Protection Act, which is aimed at curbing teenage sexuality, abortion and homosexuality. A frequent guest on the Christian broadcasting network, she is also known for her outspoken opposition to abortion rights.

## AFSCME's fireside chats

This year we may have to suffer through more political TV advertising than ever. Some say the figure could top the \$100 million mark and go as high as \$200 million. But amid this advertising blitz by Republicans and Democrats both promising this and that and telling us the "story behind" the real issues, there is an alternative. On July 29, the million-member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) began its first live nationwide broadcast via satellite on AFSCME's Labor News Network. The broadcasts, designed for use by local television and radio stations, provide commentary and analysis on issues including labor contracts, state and local government policies, health care and education. So instead of listening to Ronald Reagan chat on the radio Saturday mornings about how economic recovery is just around the corner you can hear AFSCME experts and President Gerald W. McEntee discuss from firsthand knowledge the effects of budget and tax cuts.

## Oily times at Ridgemont High

Exxon, the world's largest oil company, is laying it on thick in an expensive propaganda campaign aimed at the nation's high school students. Several films, including *A Funny Thing Happened... On the Way to the Gas Station*, *Faces of Energy* and *World Beneath the Sea*, have been circulating in high schools to rave reviews. A "before" and "after" test indicates that before the films only 19 percent of the students thought the oil companies were doing a good job solving the energy problem, but after the films, the figure jumped to 46 percent. Students found the films stimulating, realistic and interesting, and 90 percent believed that all or most of the information was true. On the basis of post-film class discussions, teachers concluded that favorable attitudes toward the oil industry increased by 49 percent. In fact, the program has been so successful that management has given the green light for four more films.

## Supply-siders fit to be tied

All over Washington, D.C., men are wearing their favorite 18th-century hero close to their hearts this season. Thousands of somber-hued ties sporting profiles of free marketer Adam Smith have been cropping up on senators and bureaucrats. The tie's designer, Norma Lipsett, told the *New York Times* that "some guys wear the ties so often that it looks like they've slept with them and their wives complain."

But those who'd like to tell the supply-siders to stuff it can now buy a stuffed Reagan doll for \$5. The "Supply Side" shows Reagan wearing a Hollywood smile and a black tuxedo. The other side, depicting a miserable naked man in a barrel, is labeled "Demand Side." Take that, Ronald Reagan.

—Nina Berman

## A bailout for Manville?

Since the early '30s the Manville Corp., earlier known as Johns-Manville, has been consciously exposing its employees and users of its asbestos products to severe health problems while trying to avoid any responsibility for the damage. For decades they tried to suppress information about the dangers of asbestos. When public awareness increased and the slow-developing lung cancers multiplied, Manville fought lawsuits brought against it, spending more for lawyers' fees than for awards granted by the courts to victims.

Now Manville, ranked 181st in the Fortune 500, is attempting to use its filing of bankruptcy, despite claims of being "in good shape" financially, to avoid the 16,500 current claims and anticipated additional 36,000 suits against it and to force the public to shoulder the costs of compensating victims (see editorial on page 14). But its actions have raised a storm of protests, including plans for hearings in Congress on both the asbestos claims and the company's potential abuse of the bankruptcy laws. Lawyers for victims also plan to contest the bankruptcy.

As many as 20 million individuals have been exposed to asbestos. Some may become seriously ill with asbestosis or mesothelioma, a lung cancer. A 1978 federal government study estimated that over the next three decades, 13 to 18 percent of all cancer deaths would be asbestos-related. Manville is by far the largest capitalist producer of asbestos.

Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), chairman of the Labor Standards Committee, has introduced legislation that would require all asbestos manufacturers as well as companies that used asbestos to contribute to a fund that would compensate victims. Because occupational illnesses are hard to establish under many state compensation laws and because the long latency period of asbestos-caused lung



Asbestos insulation being removed from New Jersey classroom

illnesses often means that employers become exempt from compensation claims, victims have had to turn to lawsuits against the manufacturers.

Under the Miller bill, present suits could continue but claimants in the future would receive two-thirds of their pre-disability pay. They would surrender the right to sue, as in standard disability procedure. Since the average award to victims has been \$20,000 and lawsuits often take as much as five years, Miller argues that victims would be better off. Manville, ironically, might even be better off: More corporations would share the burden and the huge legal costs would be reduced.

But Manville wants to escape liability. It wants the government to pick up all or much of the tab. The bankruptcy is viewed as a crude attempt to bludgeon Congress into accepting that burden.

"We simply do not accept the notion that the federal government is responsible or that government should bail out companies that have behaved as reprehensively as the asbestos industry," said John Lawrence, staff director of the Labor Standards Committee. "The record in Congress and the courts is filled with evidence that the industry knew as long ago as the early '30s that

asbestos was related to severe health problems, that they failed to bring that evidence to the attention of government or employees, and that some companies as late as 1978-79 were opposing labeling of asbestos products. Congressman Miller has said that [the industry position] is an attempt to socialize the losses, but the taxpayers didn't have anything to do with it. This is your classic bailout and a dangerous precedent for other industries" with harmful products that could become a "wholesale raid on the Treasury."

—David Moberg

## The Ledeen connections

PARIS—Michael Ledeen, a consultant for the undersecretary of political affairs at the State Department, is becoming famous in Italy. Right after Reagan's election, when he was still working for Washington's most important right-wing think tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), his name was copiously dropped by Italian Socialist leader Bettino Craxi's international emissary Claudio Martelli as Craxi's best friend in the new court. Ledeen himself complained that Martelli was exaggerating, and most Italian commentators thought he probably was.

Ledeen is also known for his work in promoting the imaginative thesis of "international terrorism" as one big Soviet plot to destabilize the West. At the time of the 1976 elections, Ledeen interpreted the implication of Communist Party gains for the Italian media and select groups in Washington.

But since Ledeen, like most of the CSIS, has been incorporated into the Reagan administration in a high-ranking position, his name has been cropping up in less-flattering contexts, notably in leaks from investigation of the tentacular secret Masonic Lodge P-2, involving, among other things, banks, the Mafia, the heads of Italy's intelligence services and various right political intrigues.

The Italian parliament and police have been investigating P-2 for months, while its mysterious grand master Licio Gelli has been evading arrest in South

Worker at the Stockton, Calif., Manville plant





Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

America and Europe. One of Gelli's residences is a mansion in Carrasco, Uruguay, which Uruguayan police broke into on May 29 looking for Gelli. The secret police chief who led the raid did not find Gelli, but did find a secret room full of files—Gelli's specialty—on men with careers to make or break, which are considered the source of his enormous wealth and mysterious power. A warrant first went out for his arrest in Italy after police found a store of such files, largely obtained illegally from right-wing intelligence chiefs.

Knowing a good thing when they saw it, the police chief copied the files on Gelli's photocopying machine and took away the photocopies, leaving the original documents. The next day, the minister of the interior took over the case and the photocopies.

What has become of them? Last February, the Italian Ambassador officially asked for them. The Uruguayan government promised to think it over.

About that time, the Italian weekly *Europeo* reported that Ledeen, on behalf of the State Department, had offered the Uruguayan government \$15,000 for 480 files photocopied in the Carrasco raid. The weekly magazine said all Ledeen had got so far for his money was Gelli's report on the Italian Communist Party, but was hoping for more important revelations.

On the roof of Gelli's Montevideo villa is an enormous antenna linked to an ITT satellite, enabling Gelli to telephone all over the world without going through regular telephone companies and switchboards. His calls are untraceable. But not unrecorded. At least some of the people he has telephoned have, for reasons of their own, taped the conversations. And some of the tapes have ended up in the hands of investigators.

One of these was recorded by Florence lawyer Federico Federici, accused of being a Gelli representative, in the Hotel Pierre in New York on January 23. The weekly *Panorama* reported on March 29 that in the course of this recorded conversation, Gelli told Federici he had written a book and that the manuscript could be given to Ledeen. He told Federici to go ahead and see Ledeen about submitting the book to him.

The Italian parliamentary commission investigating P-2 has recently been questioning extraordinarily well-connected young businessman Francesco Pazienza, who ran an information service working for P-2 banker Roberto Calvi's bank, the Ambrosiano, and was involved in efforts to take over the newspaper *Corriere della Sera*. Pazienza has told the commission he often worked with his friend professor Ledeen. *Europeo* reported last Jan. 13 that Ledeen had always maintained good relations with the Italian Socialist Party through Pazienza. In one of Gelli's taped telephone conversations with Rizzoli publishing empire director Bruno Tassan Din, Gelli reportedly said that Pazienza was connected to the CIA and the American Mafia.

*La Repubblica* reported on Feb. 19 that General Nino Lu-

garesi, who took over the military intelligence service SISMI after his predecessor General Giuseppe Santovito was dismissed for his P-2 membership, identified Pazienza as "the link between P-2 and the secret services." Pazienza was hired by Santovito and sent on missions to the Middle East, to Saudi Arabia in particular. Pazienza acknowledged to the parliamentary commission that SISMI paid him over \$30,000 plus expenses for the Arabian mission, *Unita* reported.



Michael Ledeen

The January 18 *Europeo* said that General Lugaresi's investigation of Santovito's administration of SISMI "has found an entirely American thread that risks blowing up a new case inside Ronald Reagan's staff." "Investigating the cycling of money spent by Santovito in the years when he was head of SISMI, Lugaresi allegedly discovered the existence of an interesting bank account opened abroad, probably in Switzerland. Huge sums were allegedly deposited in that account in compensation for SISMI consultant Francesco Pazienza, hired by Santovito," *Europeo* said. "But a share of the money instead allegedly ended up with Pazienza's good American friend Michael Ledeen."

Parliamentary commission sources said Pazienza and Ledeen allegedly sold a CIA study on how to combat terrorism to the rival intelligence service SISDE for a huge amount of money. The sources doubted that the study was worth that much.

The parliamentary commission hearings are secret, and the members who provide leaks to the press have no written minutes and have to go on their recollections. Obviously mistakes are possible, and none of these reports can be considered confirmed.

In any case, according to these reports Ledeen is by no means Pazienza's only good friend in Washington. Pazienza reportedly told the commission last February 11 that he had become friends with former Sec. of State Alexander Haig "when he was head of NATO, because we were both involved together in some business incidental to an American industry that produces arms." Thus when the Italian Foreign Ministry proved unable to arrange a meeting with Haig for Christian Democratic party leader Flaminio Piccoli during his visit to Washington, Pazienza was able to set it up with a personal call to Haig.

—Diana Johnstone

## Briefing: Selective prosecution

With two men already convicted for failing to register for the draft and three others awaiting trial, the Justice Department is clearly doing everything possible to ensure that selective prosecution brings the desired convictions while keeping a lid on discussions concerning political and moral opposition to the draft. This strategy was most apparent in the San Diego case of Benjamin Sasway, the first man to be indicted and the second to be convicted.

According to Sasway's attorney Charles T. Bumer, "The judge...never allowed us to put on our basic defense that the whole registration program is morally and ethically wrong and young men should not be required to register." Moreover he denied the defense and prosecution the opportunity to question the jury on any issues, including their background or relationship to the San Diego military establishment. (The judge handled all questioning—a standard procedure in federal court, but not a mandatory one.)

Location of the trial was also a factor. John Herrington, assistant secretary of the Navy for manpower, warned President Reagan's Military Manpower Task Force that "the cases should be quiet; and pick the right jurisdiction so you don't end up in New York or Chicago, and end up in Omaha or somewhere like that your first few trials." Like Omaha, San Diego has a large population of active duty and retired military personnel. It is "a big military town," said Bumer, "one dominated by the Navy and Marine Corps and 'I think that had something to do with the selection.'"

Following Sasway's conviction, the judge ruled that he be immediately imprisoned without bail since "he is aware of the fact that many of our people have gone to Canada when the chips were down. He has said he wouldn't, but the statement indicated he knows about it."

Several questions regarding the legality of the trial proceedings will likely be brought up when the case is appealed. Bumer said, "The judge more or less almost directed the jury to find him guilty. For instance, the judge ruled and instructed the jury that this is a continuing offense. If they found that Ben failed to register at any time up to June 30, 1982, they would find him guilty."

According to Bumer, Sasway opposed the draft because he refused "to be a tool for military misdirection that involved us in Vietnam 15 years ago and that might see our involvement in El Salvador or Nicaragua."

Like Sasway, the other four men indicted were fairly active in their protest of draft registration. And a Justice Depart-

ment official said at Sasway's pre-trial hearing that it was the Department's intention to single out for prosecution those "most adamant in their refusal to register." The language of the indictments are identical in four of the five indictments, with the fifth differing only by the addition of two words. According to Bumer, under selective prosecution there has been a "system of detection that automatically picked out people who were exercising their First Amendment right [to free speech]."

This strategy may run into problems in Los Angeles where David Wayne's trial is tentatively scheduled for September 28. According to his lawyer, Bill Smith, "We are expected to get a fair trial. I don't believe that Sasway got a fair trial." Smith added that they plan to introduce in court Wayne's political and moral opposition to registration.

With a staff of nine lawyers working on Wayne's behalf, Smith is optimistic that the trial will serve as the major de-

feeling is that the judge in San Diego did not allow evidence that was definitely admissible and definitely relevant to Sasway's case, and I don't anticipate that happening to us."

According to Whitaker, the defense is considering pursuing a broad array of political and moral issues but will almost definitely raise First Amendment questions about religious freedoms. Like the first man convicted, Enten Eller, Schmucker comes from a religious background, yet Whitaker claimed that "our defense will be entirely different from Eller's."

Of most immediate importance, however, is Russel Ford, whose trial is scheduled for September 10 in New Haven. Presently in jail for refusing to sign a bond release at his arraignment, Ford has refused representation by a lawyer but is receiving legal advice from the Lawyer's Guild in New Haven.

According to Nora Leyland of the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft Ford has been very active in organizing a strong anti-draft registration community in New Haven. In fact, Leyland claimed that the U.S. attorney is "not eager to prosecute" and wanted the case



Benjamin Sasway

fense case against registration. Moreover, unlike San Diego, Los Angeles does not have a large military community and the local community appears to support Wayne. According to Smith, the Justice Department probably picked Los Angeles because "we have a lot of very bad federal judges here and I think the federal government thought we would get one. But it backfired."

On September 30, Mark Schmucker will be brought to trial in Ohio. And like Smith, Schmucker's attorney William Whitaker is confident that they will receive a fair trial. "My

moved to Maryland, Ford's home state, but Ford insisted that he be tried in New Haven.

In what may become a problem for the Justice Department, U.S. attorneys across the country are receiving warnings from community groups not to pursue draft registration cases. In Boston, supporters of non-registrants recently met with the U.S. attorney to tell him they do not want any registration cases prosecuted there—that it would cause adverse publicity and the community would strongly back the defendant.

The Justice Department may soon run into more opposition than it bargained for.

—Nina Berman



# IN THE NATION

## THE ECONOMY

**Paul Volcker cut interest rates because the economy was about to plunge into an abyss.**



Rosemary Webber/ROTHCO

crease, which was passed later in the week by an unusual coalition of Ford Republicans and Kennedy Democrats.

### No more supply-side.

Wall Street interpreted Reagan's support for the tax increase as a repudiation of his supply-side economics, which had been based on the assumption that a cut in marginal tax rates would not only increase economic activity but also increase net tax revenues. In the face of record deficits—projected at \$150 billion in fiscal year 1982 and \$200 billion in 1983 by Wall Street economists—and the virtual absence of any economic growth, Reagan's supply-side advisors had resigned, and Reagan himself had returned to a pre-1980 brand of economic conservatism, which stressed the elimination of deficits as the prime objective of policy.

"The financial community had become disenchanted by [Reagan's] economic program, by the misguided lunatic fringe approach," Donald Trott, the chairman of the investment policy committee of A.G. Becker, told the *Washington Post*. "But in his persistence on the tax bill he has telegraphed to the financial community that he is no longer being held hostage by this fringe element."

In the aftermath of the August upsurge, few economists were predicting, however, that the decline in interest rates would lead immediately to an economic recovery. "There is just no credible evidence that an upturn is underway," former Ford administration economic advisor Alan Greenspan said. On August 27, the conservative National Association of Business Economists predicted that the recovery from this recession would be the weakest since World War II, with unemployment still at 9.5 percent at year's end and growth for 1983 running at 3.4 percent.

The economists were quick to point out not only that stock prices still remained substantially below the levels of August 1981, but that the decline in short-term interest rates had not been matched by a corresponding decline in long-term rates to warrant any confidence about long-term corporate investment plans. The rate on 30-year Treasury bonds had fallen from 12.65 percent to 12.12 percent over the month's decline in interest rates. With inflation expected to run at only 6 percent in 1982 and 1983, the high long-term rates signified a continuing vote of no-confidence in the future of American capitalism.

On August 25, the Federal Reserve Board's Open Market Committee, which decides how much money to inject into the nation's banking system, met. While it lowered the discount rate again—from 10.5 to 10 percent—it evidently decided to slow the rate of money growth. The federal funds rate that banks charge to each other for overnight loans increased to 10.5 percent by the end of the week from a low of 9 percent during the previous week's rally. This is usually a sign of slower money growth. The Fed's decision confirmed bankers' uncertainty about future inflation.

The financial analysts' pessimism was seconded by the supply-side economists and politicians who had failed to organize a Republican revolt against Reagan's policies. While their proposals for prosperity had made little sense, their critique of the Reagan tax cut was not without merits. Citing President Herbert Hoover's proposals to raise taxes in 1932 in the midst of the Great Depression, the supply-siders argued that a tax increase would only further depress the economy. "The economic issue is straightforward," Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) said. "The country simply cannot stand up to such a dramatic tax increase in its depressed condition."

# Wall Street upsurge falls flat

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON, D.C.

**S**TOCK MARKET RALLIES HAVE usually been harbingers of economic recovery. At the least, they signify confidence about the future of business among large investors. But August's Wall Street rally, which saw the record for trading volume broken twice and the Dow Jones Index climb 100 points, was ultimately prompted by pessimism rather than optimism about the economy's prospects. Indeed, it could have little bearing either symbolically or causally on whether the U.S. economy stages a recovery.

As the debris was being cleared from the stock exchange floor, economists were citing two different sets of reasons for the rally. The most important reason was that both the Federal Reserve Board, headed by Paul Volcker, and the major Wall Street brokerage houses had become convinced that the American economy was about to plunge into an abyss.

The following events and related figures had magnified the financial community's fears during the last two months:

- In May, Drysdale Securities, a firm trading government bonds, went under, taking \$117 million of the Chase Manhattan Bank with it. In July, the Penn Square National Bank of Oklahoma City went bankrupt, leaving behind more than \$2 billion of energy-related loans in which 60 banks had participated. One bank, Continental Illinois, lost almost \$1 billion in the bankruptcy. Also in July, Lombard Wall, another New York bond house, went under.

- American banks were also threatened

by default from Eastern European and Latin American governments suffering from the world recession. In August, Mexico—with \$80 billion in total foreign debt and \$60 billion in debt to private banks, including Bank of America, Chase Manhattan and Manufacturer Hanover—threatened to default on its loan payments.

- Mounting corporate debts threatened to choke off future investment. Federal Reserve Board member Charles Partee estimated that corporate interest payments, which were 10 percent of corporate earnings in 1965, had climbed close to 50 percent. The rate of increase in the corporate demand for loans had declined dramatically from 2.9 percent in May to .4 percent in July. During August 16-20, 572 bankruptcies were filed—more than any week since 1932. Several major corporations, including International Harvester, were tottering.

Acting on its fears of financial catastrophe, the Fed had begun in July to pump funds into the banking system and lower the discount rate it charges banks that borrow loan capital from it. Volcker acknowledged that the Fed would now "tolerate" an increase in the money supply beyond its pre-announced targets. By increasing the availability of loan capital, the Fed caused interest rates to go down, with the prime rate (the rate that major banks charge to corporate customers) falling from 16 percent in July to 14.5 percent during the climactic week. The Fed, acting with major banks, also agreed to a moratorium on Mexico's debts.

The Fed's actions were reinforced by statements from two important financial economists, Henry Kaufman of Salomon Bros. and Albert M. Wajnflower of First

Boston Corporation, who in the past had insisted that interest rates would continue to rise. Kaufman in particular had become a guru on Wall Street because of the accuracy of his predictions—someone who singlehandedly was able to cause a rally or a crash. At the beginning of the week, both Kaufman and Wajnflower reversed their stands on interest rates.

Kaufman now argued that because an economic recovery was "not likely to materialize" in 1982, corporate borrowing was unlikely to compete with Treasury borrowing to finance the deficit and cause interest rates to climb. Kaufman predicted that interest rates on long-term U.S. government securities—an important benchmark for overall interest rates—would fall from 12.75 percent to 9 or 10 percent over the next year—by no means a dramatic drop, but nonetheless an abrupt shift from the performance of interest rates over the last year-and-a-half.

The decline in interest rates, combined with Kaufman's prediction of further decline, buoyed stockmarket investment as investors took their funds out of more conservative financial instruments, whose relative value declined with the fall in interest rates. Large investors, worried about the safety of banks' certificates of deposit, transferred their money to Treasury bills, causing their interest rates to fall.

But the other factor in precipitating the record August 17 stock market performance was the congressional tax bill, initiated by Sen. Robert Dole's (R-Kan.) Finance Committee and adopted by the Reagan administration. On August 16, President Reagan made a televised plea on behalf of the \$98.9 billion tax in-



By Diana Johnstone

This is the second of two reports on the state of French organized labor that is faced with a left government and deepening unemployment.

P A R I S

**D**OES ANYONE REMEMBER Longwy? Three years ago, it was a symbol of the militancy of French workers. In early 1979, journalists from all over the world flocked to the small Lorraine steel town, just a few kilometers from the Belgian and Luxembourg borders, to report on the imaginative protest actions of Longwy's steelworkers, who were determined to keep their industry alive.

The visiting reporters got a friendly welcome from Michel Olmi, head of the local General Confederation of Labor (CGT). Olmi, in his mid-30s, seemed the model CGT militant: serious, combative but not reckless, clear about the workers' struggle and its objectives and a faithful member of the French Communist Party (PCF).

Three years later, in early 1982, Olmi's name unexpectedly reappeared—on a statement supporting Solidarity and protesting the CGT leadership's position on Poland. Olmi, and many of his Longwy comrades, had become dissidents.

Their evolution illustrates some of the troubles plaguing France's largest trade union confederation—troubles stemming largely from its control by a party that has balked at liberalization.

What went wrong between Olmi and CGT leaders? Back in 1979, Henri Krasucki, then number 2 national CGT leader after secretary general Georges Seguy, came to Longwy to urge the local on. The workers' fight, however,—like so many others—did not succeed in stopping the industry's decline, factory shutdowns or elimination of jobs. At best it got big payoffs for workers who agreed to go quietly into early retirement or another line of work. But even a lost fight can be an educational experience.

In retrospect, Krasucki's encouragement looks to many less like an effort to save steelworkers' jobs than to save the CGT in Lorraine from a challenge by the rival CFDT (Democratic French Labor Confederation). With only a weak foothold in the steel plants, the Longwy CFDT began the spectacular actions outside the factories that attracted the attention of the local population and the media. Many of the older skilled workers in the much stronger CGT at first looked askance at such high jinks as stopping trains and setting up outlaw radio transmitters. But Krasucki gave Olmi the go-ahead, and soon the CGT was outdoing the CFDT. In particular, the Longwy CGT set up its own outlaw radio station, Radio Lorraine Coeur d'Acier (Lorraine Heart of Steel), that soon became a popular institution of local self-expression.

"I quickly realized that thanks to Radio LCA, the CGT's image was changing, that people were discovering us," Olmi recalls. At the same time, thanks to Radio LCA, the local CGT was discovering the women's movement, cultural questions posed by intellectuals, the viewpoints of non-PCF leftists. Delighted with the radio station's popular success, Olmi opened it to them all.

But not for long. In late 1980, the CGT leadership condemned Radio LCA for opportunism and shut it down.

It was a bitter blow—worse than a factory closing. And it helped make Olmi a "critical Communist," one of those working with Henri Fiszbin in the hope of somehow getting the PCF back on the path of Eurocommunism.

According to the critical Communists, what happened is this: In 1978, at its 40th congress held in Grenoble, the CGT embarked on a bold policy of liberalization, seeking to open up to new social movements such as feminism and to work for genuine unity of action with the CFDT and between both left parties, the PCF and the Socialists. It seems that a majority of the CGT leadership, including Georges Seguy, almost all Communists, were alarmed at the PCF's reversion to

# IN THE WORLD

## FRANCE

### Pluralism plagues the largest union

sectarianism and hoped that the considerable weight of the CGT might prod the PCF back on the right track.

Although this was not apparent at the time, the party seems to have decided quickly to strike back and restore its own command of CGT policy. This task went to Henri Krasucki, a shrewd and devoted life-long militant credited with an uncanny nose for budding deviations and the tactical skill to nip them. Born in Poland in 1924 of parents who fled to Paris to escape anti-Semitism, Krasucki spent the war in the Resistance and in Nazi concentration camps. As the PCF man in the CGT, he used his position in charge of activities to deepen the split with the CFDT and block the process of innovation and dialogue sought by the Grenoble liberalizers.

Many of those who know the organizations best consider that the pro-Moscow statements by French Communist leaders are the result, not the cause, of their sectarianism. That is, PCF and CGT leaders do not "take orders from Moscow" but take pro-Soviet positions to drive the liberalizers away and reassert their own control.



The result was the 41st congress of the CGT held in Lille June 13-18. Krasucki, who had been the real boss for well over a year, was acclaimed as new secretary-general, and the slightly younger Seguy went into retirement. All but a small fraction of the 1,900 delegates were rigid party liners, who gave Krasucki a 97 percent vote of confidence. The Lille congress marked the triumph of "normalization"—but at a heavy cost.

First of all, in membership. Last April, the published CGT figures showed a drop in membership of 400,000 in four years, from 2,322,055 in 1977 to 1,918,583 in 1980. But an independent study based on CGT internal bulletins and published in *Le Monde* estimated that membership had gone from 1,719,245 in 1977 to 1,174,156 in 1980.

The nasty paradox is that an unpopular leadership line wins precisely because so many people don't like it—and quit the organization. Of course, in some regions—like Lyons—locals stay on and fight. They are expelled. In any case, the hard-line leadership finds itself alone with militants it can control. But then what?

A main bit of business at the Lille congress was to isolate and eliminate the Grenoble liberalizers, headed by Jean-Louis Moynet, an open-minded Eurocommunist and the CGT's main theoretician of workers' shop councils. To this end, Krasucki accused Moynet of having only one clear idea: that workers should accept "austerity." The catch is that Krasucki is increasingly having to grope around for some qualitative demands to replace quantitative demands that cannot be met now that the left government has enacted a price and wage freeze. For the moment, Krasucki's solution is to say the CGT cannot accept a wage freeze, and then accept it. Moynet for one considers this the worst possible solution.

In fact, for all their immense differences in style and philosophy, the leaders of the CGT and CFDT are faced with

much the same problems. CFDT leader Edmond Maire has come out openly for "solidarity," meaning that the needs of lower-paid and unemployed workers should take priority over the demands of the better-paid and more secure categories. The CGT's leaders reject this approach—which is no wonder, since the CGT is strong among highly-paid skilled workers and is intent on improving its position among technicians and managers. Nevertheless, when Air France stewards and stewardesses went on strike, Transportation Minister Charles Fiterman, the government's ranking Communist, quickly criticized it, saying that the desires of such a privileged category had low priority. This is in accord with the "solidarity" line—and incidentally with the vast majority of public opinion.

Until the left came to office, labor had a simple all-purpose slogan: The bosses can afford to pay. But today, the conviction has spread among workers as well as the population in general that the bosses cannot always afford to pay. Many are in hock to banks demanding interest rates above the profit rate from productive investment. If strikes drive them out of business, the economy will collapse and the right, perhaps the far right, will come back to power.

The problem for the unions, then, is to convert from simply asking for more, to providing constructive solutions to the global problem of investment, production and employment. This is where *auto-gestion*, or self-management socialism that everyone was talking about a few years ago should come in. But the word is now rarely used, and the content seems watered down. Everyone has marked time for a year, while Labor Minister Jean Auroux drafts and parliament passes a bill extending workers' rights.

Initially, union leaders are clearly going to be tempted to use the legislation to strengthen their own weakened organizations. As usual, the situation is complicated by the confederations' rivalries and differences of approach.

#### Crackdown on feminism.

In the last few months of the Krasucki normalization of the CGT, four members of the confederal bureau particularly associated with the Grenoble "opening" were forced to resign—Moynet, Rene Buhl, Jacqueline Lambert and Christiane Gilles. Gilles was in charge of the women's section, and the crackdown on feminism in the CGT has been one of the most significant aspects of the Krasucki normalization.

In France as in other countries, trade unionism has long been a male preserve. In France more than in other countries, the notion that "bourgeois feminism" is

*Continued on following page*



(Upper left) Jean-Louis Moynet; (Above) During a demonstration in solidarity with striking Citroen workers he marches with journalists of the CGT women's magazine ANTOINETTE.



# CGT

Continued from preceding page  
a disruptive force that should not be allowed to divide the working class has made it particularly difficult for the women's movement to develop among working women, much less influence the thinking of male leftists and unionists. Nevertheless, the increasing feminization of the work force, and the need for members, has forced the unions to pay attention to women.

But for a long time the CGT (and notably Christiane Gilles herself) remained hostile to what they called the "integral egalitarianism" of feminist groups and the CFTD. Jean-Louis Moynot changed this with his report denouncing all aspects of "male supremacy" at the 1977 CGT conference on women. Women's rights as workers could not be won and protected, said Moynot, without a struggle against a whole social organization.

Moynot's report was a liberating signal for CGT women. The CGT women's magazine *Antoinette* found its own voice and its ability to listen to others. Last October, Georgette Vacher, a lifelong Communist and unionist, committed suicide after CGT leaders dismissed her from her responsibilities in charge of the women's section in the Lyons appliance factory where she worked. The editor in chief of *Antoinette*, Chantal Rogerat, published a note of adieu to Georgette. This got her a first reprimand from the CGT leadership.

In March, *Antoinette* published a real

cross section of readers' letters on Poland. This was judged an "unacceptable political and professional mistake." Rogerat was fired by the confederal bureau who named a new editor in chief with no journalistic experience. In protest, the nine journalists on the staff of *Antoinette* went on strike. The CGT fired all of them, without severance pay, since they are considered militants, not employees.

At Lille, Krasucki laid down the new correct line, praising women unionists "without complexes, forearmed against attempts to deviate union action toward a war between the sexes." He suggested that men should be in the forefront to defend women's dignity.

The "normalized" *Antoinette* ran an article attacking bosses who take sexual advantage of women employees. The message: women can relax—proletarian gallantry will protect them. The "dignity" line, while certain to appeal to many women, and while perhaps sincerely intended, is dangerous at a time when the left government is proving unable to stem unemployment as rapidly as it hoped, and when 80 percent of young people unsuccessfully seeking jobs are women. The easiest way to reduce the unemployment figures would be to persuade women to stop looking for work.

Krasucki probably believes he is acting for the best, in protecting the union from outside influences other than the vanguard party. This is the central issue dividing an orthodox communist like Krasucki from a critical Eurocommunist like Moynot, who no longer believes in the Leninist model, but wants to offer new prospects that can keep the revolutionary idealism, generosity and devotion of the

Western European Communist tradition alive.

The PCF maintains its control of the CGT by using political manipulation, but not the violence characteristic of the more gangsterized American unions. This works largely because the PCF militants are the most devoted—the ones who attend the shop meetings and who show up to do the menial work.

The Socialists in the CGT remain largely on the sidelines of the major political battle between the orthodox and critical Communists. Only a few made it to Lille, and they were discreet in their criticism. A backstage deal between the PCF and the Socialist Party saw to it that a couple of token Socialists would be elected to the confederal bureau, while the critical Communists vanished from the leadership without a trace.

More outspoken were the handful of untouchable libertarians lodged in federations like the proofreaders or the merchant marine officers where the PCF has never defeated the older revolutionary syndicalist tradition. In his opening speech, Krasucki dared claim that the CGT's historic peculiarity was its "total independence" from political parties and governments. (In Krasucki's coded language, this meant that the government could not count on the CGT to approve all its measures just because there were Communists in the cabinet.)

"You can stand up here hand on heart and swear we are independent," Alain Chenu of the merchant marine officers retorted when his turn came to speak, "but you won't fool the immense majority of working people."

Chenu complained that the CGT's "in-

ternal climate has gravely deteriorated in the last two years," and criticized the tendency of the organization to rely on a limited number of "safe" comrades, with a "semi-religious respect for decisions coming from on high," who act as a "screen between the leadership and the rank and file."

Then, when talk turned to factionalism, he quite rightly pointed out that by far the greatest "factionalism" in the CGT is practiced by the PCF, which imposes its policies and its people. And yet, curiously enough, the decisive argument with which the PCF beats back every challenge to its control is the need to preserve the organization from "factionalism." If opponents of the leadership should get together, they would be pilloried for "factionalism" and driven out of the organization.

There is something baffling about this taboo and the way it works. It rests on a long-standing fear among French working people of seeing their organizations invaded and torn apart by political quarrels that do not directly concern them. This fear was revived by much of the sectarian in-fighting among the various Trotskyist and Maoist groups that flourished in the early '70s.

The real puzzle is how to create a fully democratic worker environment that is not taken over by zealous minorities that drive the majority back into their passivity. This would require cultural changes of the sort Moynot attempted to encourage in denouncing sexism. Without such changes, the unions may continue to lose members, and use the left government only to save themselves by institutional supports. ■

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### TENTATIVE ITINERARY

Wednesday Nov. 10—Leave New York City (evening)

Thursday Nov. 11—West Berlin—American/NATO decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles on European soil: Briefing by NATO staff (evening)

Friday Nov. 12—West Berlin—Response of the Peace Movement to Rearmament: Lecture, slide show, discussions and workshops (morning & afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 13—West Berlin—City Politics and Community Organizing in Berlin: Alternative bus tour of city with lecture and discussions (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 14—East Berlin—History of Fascism: Visit to Sachsenhausen concentration camp (morning); Politics of Peace in the German Democratic Republic: Visit with government representatives (afternoon)

Monday Nov. 15—Dortmund—East/West Trade, the Gas Pipeline Deal and U.S. Foreign Policy: Visit turbine or pipe factory (afternoon); viewpoints of Industry, Labor and representatives from the foreign offices of West Germany and the Soviet Union (evening)

Tuesday Nov. 16—Dortmund—Nuclear Power and Alternative Energy: Visit nuclear power plant at Hamm (morning & afternoon); Green Party, ecologists and alternative economists (evening)

Wednesday Nov. 17—Cologne—War & Reconstruction: Slide show and lecture on WWII bombing raids (morning); walking tour of old section of the city (afternoon)

Thursday Nov. 18—Bonn—Disarmament Politics, Parliamentary Parties and the 1984 Federal Elections: Talks and discussions with Christian Democrats (morning), Social Democrats (afternoon)

Friday Nov. 19—Amsterdam—Disarmament Politics and Parliamentary Parties in Holland: Talks and discussions with Workers' Party, Christian Democrats, Pacifist Socialist Party, Communist Party-Netherlands (afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 20—Amsterdam—The Peace Movement and Alternative Politics: Representatives of various social movements (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 21—Return to New York City

(\*per person based on double occupancy—includes all transportation, lodging and food, except dinner on five open evenings)

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## MEXICO

# Behind the rush to purchase dollars

By William Orme

MEXICO CITY

**M**IGUEL, A VOLKSWAGEN dealer, dropped in on his old friend Javier to commiserate. The peso had just plunged again, hitting an all-time low. Then, in an unprecedented move, the Mexican Central Bank had suspended all dollar trading in an effort to safeguard this country's dwindling foreign reserves.

Suddenly, after experiencing spectacular growth for four years running, the Mexican economy was perilously close to bankruptcy—and so were hundreds of once successful young businesspersons like Miguel and Javier.

"Things couldn't be worse," Miguel lamented. "I haven't sold a car in weeks. At 60 percent interest, who can afford a loan? I suppose we'll all have to wait this thing out."

Javier, the proprietor of one of the city's busiest hair-cutting salons, put down his scissors and stared. "Wait it out? How? Believe me, things will get worse. Before you know it, we'll be like the Argentines, paying 10,000 pesos for a pack of cigarettes."

Unlike Javier, international financiers cannot publicly admit that they, too, have lost faith in an economy that just two years ago was considered a success story in the developing world. Mexico's foreign debt, which officials conservatively estimate to be \$85 billion, is greater than that owed by the Warsaw Pact nations combined. A Mexican default—or even a prolonged suspension of interest payments—would shake the international financial system to an extent that bankers find unthinkable.

That is why men like Jose Carral, head of the Mexican branch of Bank of America, Mexico's largest single foreign creditor, take the sanguine public view that Mexico is merely suffering from a "cold," and "deserves another chance." But Javier isn't convinced. Neither is Donaldo, an economist on the transition team of the incoming administration of President-elect Miguel de la Madrid. Donaldo plans to open a Los Angeles-based money market account soon.

U.S. dollars are fetching as much as 200 pesos in black market trading here, a reflection of frequently voiced fears that the Mexican economy is becoming irreversibly "South Americanized"—caught in a self-propelled spiral of cyclic devaluations, triple-digit inflation and stringently enforced currency controls.

Since last Christmas, when the peso was traded at 26 to the dollar and the most pessimistic economists were predicting an exchange rate of 50-to-one by this December, Mexicans have already seen their currency lose a startling two-thirds of its value in real terms. Now the sober-minded currency futures traders of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange are anticipating an exchange rate of 180-to-one by September 1983.

Thus, Mexicans view panic as a rational response to the situation. On the weekend following the Central Bank's August 5 decision to let the peso float downward, Mexico City's marble-floored shopping malls were packed with middle-class shoppers determined to turn the devalued peso into tangible merchandise. When the Central Bank announced one week later that dollar sales had been "temporarily" halted and that approximately \$12 billion in local dollar-denominated savings and checking accounts could be withdrawn only in pesos, Mexicans scrambled to buy dollars at almost any price.

Although the effects of this measure have been felt across the country, its most

dramatic impact has been in the northern border zone. It has long been Mexican dogma that any type of foreign exchange controls would, as Central Bank president Miguel Mancera told an audience of bankers recently, be "a cure worse than the disease," for this region.

"With a 3,000-kilometer border and 20 million Mexicans living in intimate contact with the U.S. economy," President Jose Lopez Portillo said not long ago, "even to think of imposing exchange controls would be an absurd delusion."

Border-area businesspersons couldn't agree more. The new restrictions on dollar transactions have devastated the economy of an area where most businesses, as well as many municipal governments, have substantial dollar debts with U.S. commercial banks. The chambers of commerce in 39 Mexican border cities called a general business strike August 18 to protest the Central Bank's move and urged merchants to withdraw their funds from Mexican banks.

The problems are graphically evident in cities like Nuevo Laredo, located directly across the border from large U.S. shopping districts aimed at Mexican customers. Some 4,000 Nuevo Laredans work in retail shops in Texas. Now, few Mexicans can afford goods priced in dollars and more than 40 percent of these workers have been laid off.

Devaluation has also reignited the lucrative contraband diesel fuel trade in the Nuevo Laredo area. Smugglers selling Mexican diesel in Texas can now clear profits of nearly \$1 per gallon. Merchants claim that smugglers are also sending across massive quantities of sugar, vanilla, coffee and other goods.

The devaluation will undoubtedly push more immigrants to the U.S. as well. An estimated 1.5 million people who had jobs a year ago are now out of work. Another 750,000 enter the workforce each year, and to absorb these workers an economic growth rate of at least 6 percent is necessary. According to the Treasury Min-



Mexico's junk food distribution network is far more effective than that of the government agencies in charge of basic food distribution.

istry, Mexico's economic growth has hit zero and will probably remain stagnant at least until the middle of 1983.

Although Mexico has experienced similar crises before (see story below), this is unquestionably the most grave in four decades, and it comes at a time when the Mexican economy is linked as never before to that of the U.S. In 1981 Mexico became the third largest U.S. trading partner, surpassed only by

Japan and Canada. And in the past few months it has quietly overtaken Saudi Arabia as the leading U.S. foreign oil supplier. In 1981 the U.S. registered a \$29 billion deficit in its international trade balance. Yet without Mexico's commerce—with which Americans enjoyed a record trade surplus—the U.S. trade deficit would have deepened to nearly \$35 billion.

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## A history of the crisis

The recent devaluation of the Mexican peso is an overt sign of the economic crisis plaguing that country. Yet to understand the origins of the present crisis, one must examine not only the path of Mexican economic development over the past several decades, but also the way the international banking community effected that development.

By the late '60s, it was clear that the government's policy of sacrificing the production of basic food stuffs and goods for heavy industrialization and products designed to meet the demands of the middle and upper classes was not benefiting the nation as a whole. Indeed, it was aggravating existing social inequalities and polarizing Mexican society.

But instead of altering that course, the Mexican government continued to invest in heavy industry. Thus a new steel complex was initiated to make the country self-sufficient at the same time a worldwide glut was lowering international prices to below national costs. And the well-known "secret" of vast oil reserves was opportunely announced when the new higher market price made exploitation profitable and promising by ensuring needed foreign exchange in the future.

The international banking community turned to Mexico as a safe haven for new lending and investment, as national leaders scoffed at critics who called for conservation and warned about heavy debts that would be incurred by such

large-scale development projects. But Mexico—determined to enter the modern age—welcomed international investment and constructed, among other things, a nuclear power complex and a metro system.

These major transformations were followed quickly by other forms of modernization that effected all sectors of the society. Some political reform paved the way for at least limited criticism of public- and private-sector decisions. Concentrated efforts were made to integrate isolated peasant and indigenous communities into the national culture by expanding and improving the public medical and educational institutions. While these programs improved the standard of living for some, they also made it almost impossible for any social group to retain their cultural traditions or to make productive decisions without regarding national and even international market pressures. For example, peasants often find it more profitable to plant soya animal feed instead of the traditional corn, beans or squash for their own consumption. And the distribution network for junk food is far more effective than that of the government agencies in charge of basic food distribution.

Yet the present crisis suggests that the impression of economic modernization and social integration offered by the standard indicators of national development is only a veneer covering a nation plagued by social inequality

and productive bottle-necking.

While some Mexicans have been successfully integrated into the market economy, most others are unable to secure jobs in heavy industry (much of it capital intensive) and find themselves for the good part of the year unemployed or at best underemployed. The government tried to correct this employment situation to some extent through deficit government financing that stimulated a massive construction boom in urban centers, most notably Mexico City. Yet the construction also fed inflation at the same time the nation was having to respond to the demands of heavy industrialization—equipment and raw materials—and also provide basic foodstuffs for a population that could no longer depend on their domestic agricultural production to fulfill those needs. The situation was destined for the catastrophe apparent today—widespread and severe social inequalities and an unsustainable deficit in the balance of payments.

In February of this year, the government, following neo-liberal economic philosophies that dictate that the problem should be corrected through the marketplace, devalued the peso 100 percent, reduced taxes and tried to stimulate foreign investment. The national bourgeoisie responded not by increasing production but by increasing the outflow of dollars to their private accounts in the U.S. and elsewhere.

And the International Monetary Fund, along with the major forces in the business community, is presently insisting on a stabilization program

Continued on page 22



# Israel

Continued from page 3.

Thus the vast armada of U.S. sea and air power that patrolled the Israeli and Lebanese coasts for the duration of the war had already begun moving into position before the war began. These prompt naval deployments stand in marked contrast to the long delays in leaving port of the Sixth Fleet's aircraft carriers during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war—the war that caught both the Israelis and the U.S. by surprise.

In an interview in mid-August with the Italian writer Oriana Fallaci, Sharon emphasized that this time around U.S. officials could not have been surprised. "I used to see Habib, Haig and Weinberger exclusively to discuss the problem of terrorism and the PLO. I never kept secrets from them; I never made mysteries... when I spoke about Lebanon, I kept warning them: 'Don't be caught by surprise if or when we will do it.' Or: 'If or when we do, don't tell us that you were caught by surprise. The situation is such that we cannot restrain ourselves anymore.'"

Sharon then said, "We had evaluated the various possibilities of a Soviet intervention, and we had examined them with the Americans.... Then we had reached the conclusion that the Soviet Union wouldn't intervene." But this wasn't exactly what happened.

At the time the Israelis launched their attack, the Pentagon estimated publicly that the Soviet Mediterranean squadron was under its normal strength—about 10 surface fighting ships and an undisclosed number of submarines. At the outbreak of the 1973 war, it had more than double that number. In the second and third weeks of the recent war, the Soviets began to react militarily after issuing veiled threats against Israel at the United Nations and in two letters delivered to President Reagan. On June 23, a Pentagon spokesperson said Soviet naval reinforcements had brought the total in the Mediterranean squadron to 39 ships, including 16 surface combatants and 23 supply vessels—the nuclear-attack submarines remained uncoun-  
 ted.

But as the Soviets began reinforcing, so did the Pentagon, using a "readiness exercise" as the cover. On June 18 the Navy issued a public notice announcing a "NATO exercise" code-named "Daily Double 1-82." This operation, directed by Vice Adm. William Rowden, U.S. commander of Naval Strike Forces for Southern Europe, was said to "demonstrate an ability to reinforce carrier battle groups in the Mediterranean, to project power ashore in support of land battles and to demonstrate that NATO in the southern region has the flexibility to take advantage of major short-notice training opportunities."

The "exercise," which took place between June 24 and 28, added two new carriers to the Sixth Fleet—the *USS Independence* and the *USS Forrestal*. Along with their escorts and tenders, submar-

ines and the three carriers already off the Lebanese coast, the U.S. fleet had grown to "more than 50 ships," according to the Navy. It was the largest number of carriers ever assembled by the U.S. in the Mediterranean. NATO participation in the "Daily Double" exercise was also a cover. Defense Department officials said they knew of no non-American ships in the exercise.

## U.S. arms surge.

In the early days of the 1973 war, the White House deliberately stalled shipment of fresh arms and ammunition for Israel as a means of controlling Israel's

ment from the U.S. This is almost 10 times the value of U.S. military goods delivered to Israel in the same period in 1980; it is nearly 50 percent more than the value of deliveries at the same time last year.

The main weapons accounting for the surge are 10 F-15 aircraft—considerably more costly than the 14 F-16A aircraft delivered in 1981—14 tank-recovery vehicles, 19 self-propelled 155-mm howitzers, and over \$6 million in bombs and ammunition.

The tank recovery vehicles have been extensively used in the fighting in Lebanon. And as U.S. television cameras have

a multi-story apartment building near Hamra Street, West Beirut, on August 6.

The effect was devastating—the entire building was leveled, trapping or killing more than 100 people. This bombing attack involved extraordinary precision by just two Israeli aircraft, operating over one of the densest sections of the city. Press reports indicate that the Israelis believed the building was a hideout for Yasser Arafat, and that he may have been in the building within an hour of the attack. In his August 14 radio interview, Gen. Sharon admitted that the aim of recent raids was to kill PLO leaders.

Col. Mark Foutch at the Pentagon told

## U.S. Arms Deliveries to Israel

Three-Month Period, January-March, 1980, 1981, 1982

(Figures in dollars)

Item	1980	1981	1982
Aircraft	22,306,000 (Two F-16A and spare parts)	142,464,000 (14 F-16A and spare parts)	187,604,000 (10 F-15 and spare parts)
Vehicles and Weapons	1,704,000 (10 armored cargo carriers, 2 anti-aircraft arty.)	17,000 (Truck parts)	20,410,000 (14 tank recovery vehicles, 19 self-propelled 155-mm howitzers)
Ammunition	278,000 (Heavy artillery cartridges)	1,058,000 (Heavy artillery cartridges)	6,725,000 (Guided bombs and other ammo)
Missiles	16,000 (Chaparral spare parts)	3,179,000 (6 Harpoon anti-ship missiles)	127,000 (Chaparral spare parts)
Miscellaneous support equipment	11,000		198,000
Training, maps, other assistance	412,000	1,300,000	2,631,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>24,727,000</b>	<b>148,018,000</b>	<b>217,595,000</b>

Source: Defense Security Assistance Agency, Washington

military advance on Egyptian and Syrian territory. At the time, Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, told the Israeli government that the Pentagon bureaucracy was to blame. In fact, according to James Schlesinger, then Secretary of Defense, that "was a cover story in that period—that the source of resistance was to be the Pentagon. This story was basically to protect the realities of national policy."

This time White House and Pentagon policy was equally deceptive but quite different. The Defense Secretary's public role during the Lebanon war was to appear far more hostile to the Israeli operation than he actually was, while he secretly facilitated the arms shipments the Israelis wanted.

Pentagon figures, released in response to a Freedom of Information request, reveal a massive surge of military equipment and ammunition from the U.S. to Israel in the first months of this year, as Israel completed plans for its invasion. (See table above on U.S. arms deliveries to Israel.)

The table shows that in the first quarter of 1982 Israel took delivery of \$217,695,000 worth of military equip-

ment, the 155-mm howitzers, shipped from the U.S. early this year, have been the main source of the artillery fire raining down on Beirut for weeks. Although the Pentagon has not yet released delivery figures for the second quarter of this year, a Defense Department spokesperson has confirmed that 25 M-60 tanks were handed over to Israel in May, and another 15 were shipped in June. The Defense Security Assistance Agency, which administers U.S. foreign military sales, compiles detailed delivery figures for weapons types for each quarter. In just-released figures going back to 1980, there is nothing comparable to this rate of tank shipments.

Another highly unusual item in the arms inventory delivered to Israel just before the war began is listed in Pentagon data as "Guided Bombs." In the first quarter of 1982, the Israel defense forces took delivery of 14 of these, at a cost of \$4.4 million. Bombs of this type, which have highly sophisticated guidance devices and delayed fuses, are widely believed to have been used by Israel in the attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor near Baghdad on June 8, 1981. One or more bombs of the same type were dropped on

this reporter on June 11 that there had been no surge in U.S. arms deliveries to Israel before the war, and that it was impossible for this to occur in an arms program that is planned years in advance. Foutch refused to provide detailed delivery information, claiming this was classified.

The release of the information two months later indicates an extraordinary coordination between U.S. weapons delivery schedules and Israeli military plans for Lebanon. Starting at least three months before the invasion of Lebanon, it appears the Pentagon knew that Israel was stockpiling weapons at a massive and costly rate. And the willingness to continue the shipments, even after the war had begun, suggests the active collusion of the Pentagon in Israel's actions.

As Sharon suggested in his August interviews, it is too late for the U.S. to disclaim knowledge or responsibility.

Claudia Wright is the Washington correspondent for the *New Statesman* (London), *Temoignage Chretien* (Paris) and *Ethnos* (Athens). Next week she will write on Reagan's new Middle East initiative: bandwagon for the promised land?

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## EL SALVADOR

# Police crack down on union

By Richard Kolloneai

SAN SALVADOR

**T**HE RELATIVE CALM THAT PRECEDED President Reagan's July 27 certification of human rights progress in El Salvador has given way to increasing political tensions here, including the mass arrest of union members and a political scandal being used against the Centrist Christian Democrats.

The scandal, which forced the resignation of a high-ranking Christian Democrat from the Education Ministry, grew out of the August 14 arrest of three laborers and 23 members of the National Association of El Salvador Educators on charges of subversive activity. The Treasury Police captured the group in a morning raid on a private school here and claimed that they were meeting as the Central Committee of the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), an armed guerrilla organization. Among those detained were five executive committee members of the teachers' association (known by its Spanish acronym ANDES) and Maria Lydia Escalante de Serrano, wife of Education Undersecretary Roberto Serrano.

The right-wing press pounced on the story, immediately singling out Maria Serrano. According to Treasury Police charges in the morning tabloid *Diario De Hoy*, Serrano was a member of the Salvadoran Communist Party who was collaborating with the FPL and "has attended meetings of subversive character on the national and the international level."

"We are going to prove participation of Professor Serrano and her comrade in subversive activity," Treasury Police director Colonel Francisco Moran said

omic demands, however, also calling for the release of incarcerated teachers and political prisoners. Government failure to meet the demands "will corroborate one more time the farce of the March elections," the platform said.

Increased political activity by labor unions and other "popular organizations" has been urged by the guerrillas' Radio Venceremos during the past month. But the August 9 arrest of six members of the Transportation Workers Union and, five days later, the 23 teachers guild members, serves as a warning to ANDES and other groups to refrain from tough talk on political or economic issues. (Four of the transportation workers, charged under state-of-siege laws

was at the school during the Saturday morning police raid only to unlock the building for the teachers guild meeting with students who had weekend classes.

She fell into a trap, according to Roberto Serrano, and the right seized the incident to "orchestrate a campaign" against the Christian Democrats, "with the focus of my wife and I. If my wife hadn't been there, the campaign would be against ANDES and the left."

A right-wing women's group called Crusad for Peace and Work paid for a full-page August 20 ad that labeled Maria Serrano and the other teachers "militants in communist and subversive organizations." The ad went on to question whether Roberto Serrano "was unaware

*The incident could widen the gap between Salvadoran President Alvaro Magana and the Christian Democrats.*



Leah/Syngma

## The mass arrests were viewed as a smear campaign against the Christian Democrats.

at a news conference after the arrest. Moran offered as evidence large quantities of left literature allegedly seized at the school and claimed more than 20 cells of the FPL would be disrupted by the raid.

Despite the enthusiasm of the local press, many Salvadorans are skeptical that 23 teachers comprised the Central Committee of a Marxist-Leninist army considered to be the strongest of the five guerrilla groups presently fighting the Salvadoran armed forces. The mass arrests were widely viewed as a smear campaign against the Christian Democrats and an attack on the teachers' guild intended as "an example to others."

"This is one measure the government has taken to sap the membership of associations that fight for their interests and those of the people," said Saul Sanchez, secretary-general of ANDES. According to Sanchez and other ANDES members, the 23 teachers were meeting to discuss union business, specifically a nine-point platform of political and economic demands that were to be presented to the Constituent Assembly on August 16.

El Salvador's teachers have been hit hard by this country's economic and social chaos. Instructors from Chalatenango, La Union, Morazan and San Miguel provinces recently appeared before the Constituent Assembly and claimed that they have not been paid for seven months. The ANDES platform, a strongly worded document published as an ad in the local papers on July 28, called for wage increases, health benefits and price controls on essential goods and services. The platform went beyond simple econ-

with illegal possession of subversive literature, have since been released for lack of evidence. Seven of the detained teachers, and the non-union members arrested with them, have also been freed.)

The political fallout from the teachers' arrests was not long in coming. Within days, the charges against Maria Serrano developed into an all-out attack on her husband, a member of the Christian Democrats' Executive Committee.

Maria Serrano is the part-time director of the Federal Republic of Germany school in San Salvador, where the arrests occurred. According to her husband, she

of his wife's movements and activities."

The following morning, newspapers printed rumors that Serrano was ready to quit his Education Ministry post and an allegation, attributed to "unofficial sources," that he was a bigamist. A woman with whom he had once had an extramarital affair came forward sporting a marriage license and within days, President Alvaro Magana requested Serrano's resignation. Although municipal officials later said that the license was a fake and no formal charges were ever filed against him, Roberto Serrano is still out of a job. And Maria Serrano is still in jail.

### A short-term tactic?

The scandal could serve as a short-term tactic to widen the gap between President Magana and the Christian Democrats, or it may be used in a long-term campaign to discredit the Christian Democrats before municipal and presidential elections can be held. Yet the party offered only

lukewarm support for Serrano, a party member since the mid-'60s who received his government position in May as part of post-election power-sharing agreements. Their strange apathy during an attack on a party stalwart may indicate the price Christian Democrats will pay to maintain a semblance of power in the right-dominated government.

But if the party is paying with silence or a collaboration, it is getting precious little in return. Since the March 28 elections, 17 Christian Democrats holding government office have been killed, the most recent slaying being the August 3 shooting of Ramiro Ponce, mayor of the town of San Lorenzo in San Vicente province. Ponce was allegedly murdered by civil defense authorities as he returned from a field tour with his cattle. The same day Ponce was killed, the Christian Democrats signed a government unity pact with the ultra-conservative Party of National Conciliation (PCN) and the far-right ARENA. But their signatures did nothing to dissuade rightists from promptly circulating lists of Christian Democrats in government posts who would be replaced "if" a coup were to take place.

The tensions might be reaching a breaking point: In a bizarre incident in the Constituent Assembly, a heated argument between a Christian Democrat deputy and a PCN member suddenly turned into a mass grab for personal side arms. No weapons were drawn, but some delegates have since proposed that the meeting hall be declared a demilitarized zone.

Such an action would make the building one of the few safe places in the country. Gunfights between rebels and government troops are occurring with increasing frequency in the capital, and isolated confrontations have been reported in the normally quiet western provinces. The most intense activity, however, continues to take place in eastern provinces, where the government has mounted several major military operations, the most recent being a sweep of 3,000 to 4,000 troops through San Vicente. Guerrilla sabotage during August has left much of the eastern third of the country without electricity for days and even weeks at a time.

Soldiers in the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN) continue to operate with deadly efficiency, ambushing army troop carriers and civil defense outposts. Civil defense personnel are widely held responsible for a large number of civilian casualties during the civil war and their outposts appear to have become a prime target for the FMLN.

Defense Minister General Jose Guillermo Garcia recently said that 1,100 government security forces have been killed by guerrillas since the war began. According to some estimates, though, at least that many civil defense personnel alone have died in combat. Garcia's statement, made in a televised address to the nation, was rebroadcast in a somewhat unorthodox manner: It was taped and played over Radio Venceremos as proof of the FMLN's continuing strength.



Arno Nelson



## Nicaragua

## REVOLUTION / COUNTER / REVOI

By Jack Epstein and  
James Evans

Following are excerpts of interviews conducted in July with Alfonso Robelo, a 42-year-old Nicaraguan millionaire industrialist, and Dr. Sergio Ramirez, a 40-year-old attorney and writer who has been a member of the government junta since its inception in July 1979, when former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza was ousted from power.

After the Sandinista triumph, Robelo was named to the original five-person governing junta. In April 1980 he resigned, along with Violeta Chamorro, and has been a vocal opposition leader ever since. Robelo is now president of the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), a political party that describes itself as being Social Democratic. In April of this year, he opted for self-exile in Costa Rica, where he now resides. In June he announced in Panama the formation of an alliance with former Sandinista Commander Eden Pastora in what was Robelo's most radical position to date. He was a member of the "Group of 12" or government-in-exile formed in 1977 in Costa Rica.

Ramirez lived in Costa Rica for many years where he was secretary-general of the University Confederation of Central America, a regional organization. In 1978 he was invited to participate in a writers program in West Berlin, where he remained until 1975. That year he went to Costa Rica and joined the anti-Somoza movement, and returned to Nicaragua after Somoza fell.

### Alfonso Robelo: "The FSLN are the counter- revolutionaries."

*What circumstances led you to leave Nicaragua?*

I have followed a logical procedure in my political struggle for democracy in Nicaragua, and in a sense it is parallel to the one I followed against Somoza. I am a civic fighter, and I want to, if possible, work to solve things in a civilized way. With Somoza we tried to do things from within Nicaragua through a dialogue we had just before the assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, then through general strikes that I more or less directed, being the leader in the private sector. Then we went into another longer general strike and mediation, and it wasn't until the end that I decided to join the armed struggle against Somoza, because Somoza had closed all the roads to a civic solution.

In a similar way, I am doing the same thing now. I have struggled from within, being a member of the government junta of Nicaragua, but with very little or almost no success, and instead being used only as a front—a mask to project the wrong image to the world and to the Nicaraguan people. So two-and-a-half years ago I decided to step down and start denouncing what was going on in Nicaragua—the deviation from the original project of the revolution.

I tried to struggle from within the revolution, but from outside the government. This is something I want to make very clear. I am a revolutionary. I am a Sandinista. It is they [the FSLN] who are counter-revolutionary. They are getting away from the original project of the revolution. So about three months ago when the State of Emergency was declared (March 15), I came to the conclusion that it was the end of the civic fight from within Nicaragua. The risk I was running was too high and I was accomplishing nothing.

*Risk to yourself?*

Risks in general. My house had been seiz-



ed by mobs in the early hours of a Sunday when I was alone with my family. My house is located in front of one post of the National Directorate, where they have permanent guards, and I called them on the telephone, but they didn't do anything.

*Are you suggesting that it was the National Directorate who was responsible?*

I'm not suggesting. I'm sure, because they told me afterwards.

*Who told you?*

Bayardo Arce. He ordered that. He approved it.

*Didn't Tomas Borge express disagreement with that attack?*

You have to realize one thing: People in the National Directorate and leaders of the FSLN in Nicaragua don't care about

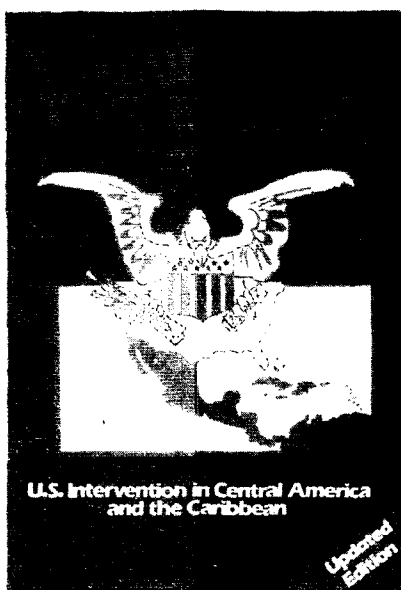
lying, fooling people, betraying people. They think it is all right, provided it is a positive move in the direction of what they want to achieve. So if Tomas Borge said that, you have to understand that it could be a tactic or strategy. I have lived through this many times. It was one of the reasons I left. I couldn't trust them at all, because they use and abuse people.

*Speaking of tactics, what is your strategy since arriving in Costa Rica?*

I'm trying to raise enough internal and external pressure against the National Directorate to force one of two things: Either they correct the direction of the revolution, or they take off their masks and show the world what they really are. If they still have some patriotism left, some nationalism left, then I hope they will change their direction.



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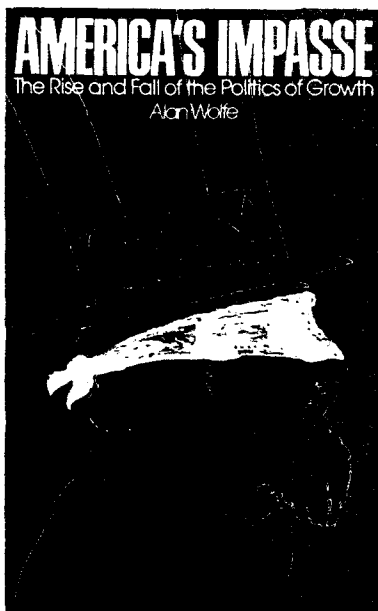
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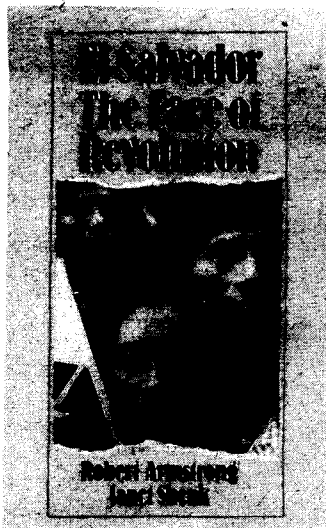
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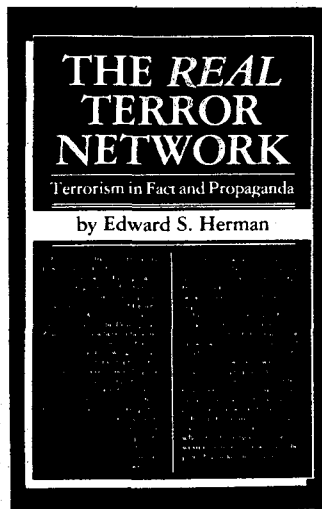
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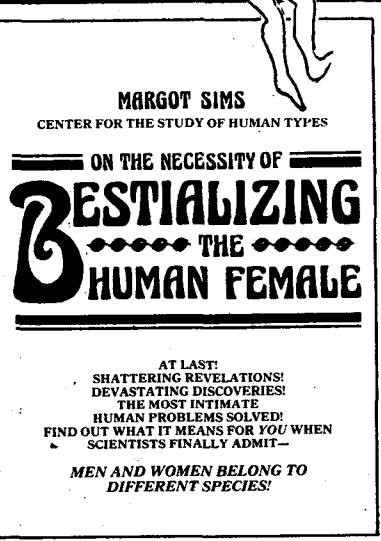
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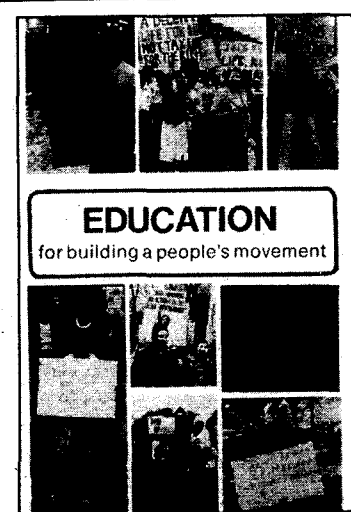
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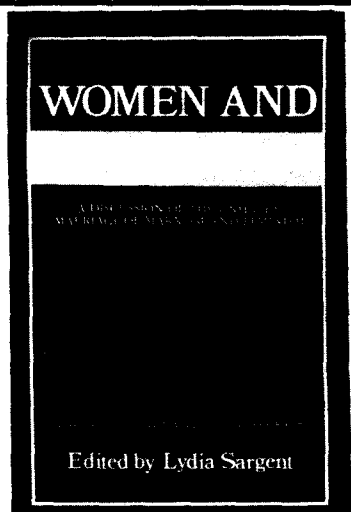


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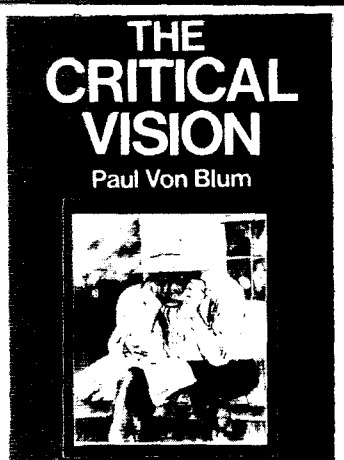
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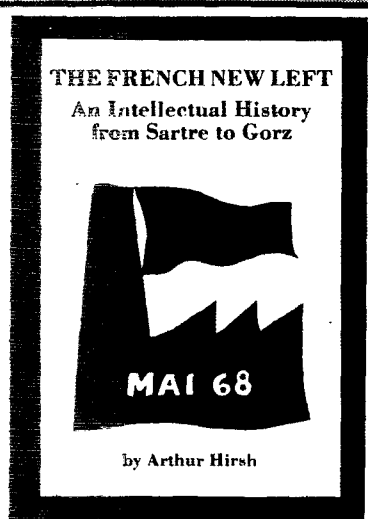
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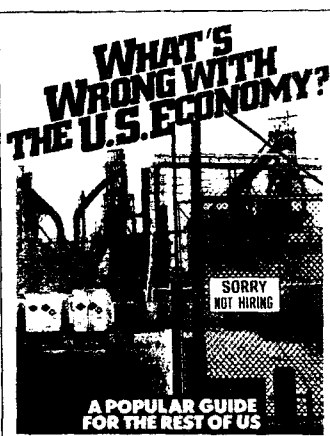
*The French New Left* examines the critiques of traditional marxism carried out by Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Henri Lefebvre, and Cornelius Castoriadis in the period from 1945 to 1968. Hirsh demystifies those critiques and shows how they converge as an egalitarian solution to alienation and bureaucracy. He examines today's self-management, feminism, and ecology movements as a source of rejuvenation of radical social theory.

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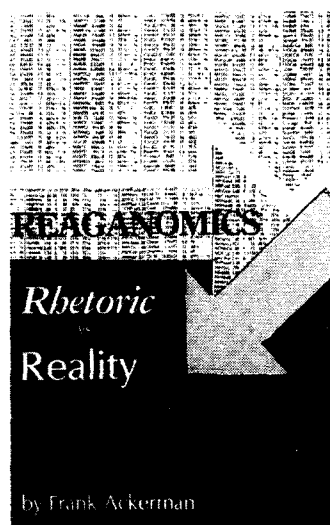
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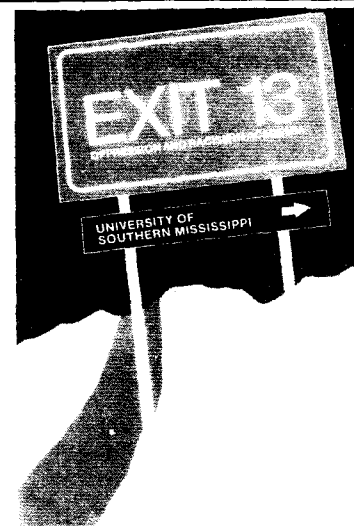
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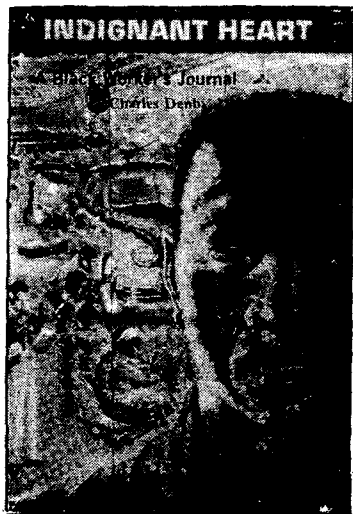
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## **Sergio Ramirez: "His kind of capitalist had no place here."**

*Robelo talks about the risks involved in remaining in Nicaragua—that his house was seized by mobs in front of a National Directorate post, and that the attack was ordered by FSLN Directorate member Bayardo Arce.*

That is completely false. After Robelo left the country and his house was given to UNAG [a Sandinista organization of small cattle ranchers and farmers], everything inside was found untouched, including his pre-Columbian archeological collection, which was given to the Ministry of Culture. He didn't flee. He left at a calculated political moment.

*Robelo states that the principal motive for his self-exile was the fact that the civic road, as he puts it, was totally closed.*

It goes deeper than that. Some leaders of the opposition who are also now leaders of the counter-revolution—like Robelo—believe that our confrontation with the Reagan administration will be a short one—that we will be dislodged from power due to pressures from the U.S. destabilization program. Thus, an anti-Sandinista leader figures that armed counter-revolution is the most rapid way to come to power. That's why Robelo left the country.

There's still room to move here politically. There are opposition parties. Yet one shouldn't forget that Nicaragua is now in a situation that is not only influenced by political considerations, but by military ones as well.

The counter-revolutionary groups are a genuine military force who receive sophisticated arms, munitions and logistic aid from the CIA and the Honduran government. As a result, Robelo has more faith in armed struggle than in civic struggle. His alliance with Pastora is an example. But they are acting as though we are just another traditional government, rather than a revolutionary government—with an infinite popular base—that can defend itself better than any government in Latin America. Robelo has a problem understanding what opposition means in terms of a revolutionary government. He thought the junta should be replaced little by little with the most recalcitrant anti-Communists who would reject any kind of political and social change. He expected to use anti-communism as a banner to reject any change that limits the power and the privilege of the former ruling class.

*Robelo says he's not anti-Communist—that he's a revolutionary and a Sandinista, that it's the junta and the FSLN National Directorate who are the counter-revolutionaries because they pushed aside the original principles of the revolution: political pluralism, a mixed economy and non-alignment.*

Those are ideological phrases—rhetoric that doesn't fit the context of the situation here. What's real is that this is Nicaragua three years after the revolution. After 50 years of Somocismo, it's now trying to raise itself up from its past and create a new state—independent and able to stand on its own two feet.

Our revolutionary plan wasn't made by the millionaires, but by the poor. During 20 years of fighting the National Guard clandestinely, workers, inhabitants of the poor barrios and so on, were often accused by these same millionaires of being thieves and bandits. Now we say those millionaires will have a role in our struggle for reconstruction. Private enterprise can produce riches for the country.

But people who have never had a chance to make decisions will now have that chance. We will organize the poor, the workers, the peasants and the professionals, and they will finally have a voice. Now, if a peasant doesn't have land in areas where there are large landholdings and if a landowner is affected by the agrarian reform law, the state will pay the landowner, and the peasants will be able to stay. We will give them deeds—that's the minimum the revolution can do for them.

The problem is that the political interests of people like Robelo have been affected. He left the country because he felt that the kind of capitalist he was didn't have a future in Nicaragua, except within the range that the revolution guarantees. Here, money doesn't automatically mean power the way it does in the U.S. People like Robelo were schooled in the North American capitalist ideology.

*In Nicaragua, everyone says Robelo and Eden Pastora are accepting U.S. funds. Robelo denies this. Do you have any evidence of direct U.S. support?*

We don't have concrete information on how many checks they have received, but we're sure they're being financed by the U.S. because we don't see any other way they could finance a counter-revolution. From the U.S. perspective, the best option is to have one counter-revolution, with Robelo/Pastora at the head of all the groups. Politically, National Guard members are useless for the U.S. But men who participated in the revolution—one a commander and the other a former junta member—are more credible. I'm not saying Robelo/Pastora will go to a classic CIA agent with a black hat who will give them checks, but there will be a plan whereby a money pipeline will appear to finance political action, propaganda and military activity. If Robelo talks of an anti-Sandinista radio station in Costa Rica, this costs money.

*He says it's inside Nicaragua and it's called the Voice of Sandino.*

No, it's just outside San Jose in a neighborhood called Escazu. Our intelligence tells us that, as well as where the Honduran Somocista station "15 of September" is located.

*Where?*

Outside San Marcos de Colon, and another outside Puerto Lempira. One of the errors one can make in dealing with us as a government is not to treat us as if we were also conspirators. We have 20

years experience as conspirators in all of Central America, Mexico and the U.S. We are professional conspirators, perhaps the best in Latin America.

*One of Robelo's strategies is to subvert support that Nicaragua has from sympathetic countries, especially Venezuela and Mexico. In Venezuela's case, the Costa Rican minister of justice told us that Pastora arrived in Costa Rica on an official Venezuelan passport, a charge that Venezuelan President Herrera Campins denied on July 19.*

The word of President Herrera Campins is good enough for us.

*What about Mexico? Pastora reportedly flew into Costa Rica on a PRI (Party of the Institutionalized Revolution) airplane and is said to be close friends with Miguel de la Madrid [the president-elect of Mexico]. Do you foresee any change of policy toward Nicaragua under him?*

Pastora could not have better relations with PRI than we have. If there exists a tight relationship in Latin America, it's between the PRI and the FSLN. Also, I spoke personally with Miguel de la Madrid only last week in Mexico for two hours on a series of topics, and I don't see any problem.

*Robelo accuses the FSLN Directorate of being more Marxist-Leninist and ideological than nationalistic—that the FSLN is delivering the revolution to the Cubans and the Soviets.*

You can't find a leadership on the continent more nationalistic than ours. That we have close ties with Cuba is no secret, and Robelo originally was one of the promoters of closer relations with Cuba. Just a few days after we entered Managua in 1979, the junta received invitations for the July 26 [Cuban day of the revolution] ceremonies in Cuba. Robelo offered to represent the junta, so he participated and wore a red and black neckscarf [the colors of the FSLN] and ended his speech by shouting "Cuba and Nicaragua united will be victorious." Don't you think that Robelo knew Cuba had close ties with the Soviet Union?

*He says the Cubans set up a repressive security apparatus that went into effect after the State of Emergency was declared. (Laughs) It's part of the mythology surrounding the Nicaraguan revolution. We are professionals, an intelligent people. We learned rapidly how to use the mechanisms of intelligence and counter-intelligence for the defense and security of the nation.*

The head of security, Lenin Cerna is a very talented person. He's a poet and painter, not just an average policeman. We have sufficient talent to develop our own state security apparatus, which, I add, is a humane one. You can't accuse us of torture. We have systematically eliminated torture.

*Continued on page 22*

*When you say that, what do you have in mind?*

The original direction of the revolution was a Sandinista revolution, one that was based on the principles of Sandino, the doctrine of Sandino, which was never Marxist-Leninist. If there was one outstanding characteristic of Sandino, it was that he was tremendously nationalistic. Now you have the FSLN delivering the country and the revolution to the Cubans and the Soviets because their ideological principles are stronger than their national principles. It is totally against the three key tenets of the revolution: effective pluralism, a well-defined mixed economy and genuine non-alignment in foreign relations. Each and every one has been betrayed.

*Reports say a mixed economy does exist, that about 60 percent is in private hands, accounting for about 80 percent of production.*

Not 60 percent. Maybe it's 50 percent or 45 percent. But why is that? Is it because they have accepted that private property should play a role in the long-term revolution? No. It's because they need the private sector. It is because they are so lousy as managers, that if they don't allow it, the economy would be even worse.

*So you believe the FSLN intends to eliminate the private sector?*

The private sector has no future in the Nicaraguan revolution.

*Recently while in Panama you said you were ready to fight with Eden Pastora, if necessary. Is that true?*

The problem with journalists is that they pick the most sensationalist parts out of long interviews. What I was saying was that if all civic ways to solve the Nicaraguan problem are closed, because of the attitude of the National Directorate, then we would have no other alternative but to fight, to use force. We don't want another war in Nicaragua. Nicaragua has already suffered too much violence.

*But you did say you would fight with Eden Pastora?*

What I said was that I agreed with him on many points: his criticism of the deviation of the revolution; his nationalistic feelings; his respect for Sandino; that he is an authentic anti-imperialist longing for peace; that we should not be the puppets of either one of the two superpowers,

*Continued on page 22*



## EDITORIAL

*Manville seeks welfare cheater status*

The moral bankruptcy of the Manville Corp. (formerly Johns-Manville Corp.) has been a matter of public record since 1980 when the California Supreme Court ruled that the company had fraudulently concealed from its workers its knowledge of the extremely hazardous nature of asbestos. Now, faced with 16,500 health lawsuits already filed and the possibility that another 35,000 victims of asbestos and lung cancer might also sue, Manville has filed a bankruptcy petition under Chapter 11 of the federal Bankruptcy Code. The effect (see page 4) is to freeze, and possibly to defeat, the suits pending against the company.

The Western world's leading producer of asbestos, Manville is also one of the world's most sued companies, both because of the widespread use of asbestos in industrial processes and because of the mineral's particularly virulent character. But as a corporation, Manville has operated according to the big business norm. Its first and—when push comes to shove—its only loyalty is to its investors. In their behalf it has ignored the hazards posed by the production and use of its product to the health and safety of its employees and the public at large. When finally brought to partial account by the legal action of thousands of its victims, it has sought to escape liability through a bailout by the federal government.

The use of Chapter 11 by a solvent corporation is, as the *Wall Street Journal* says, "highly unusual" because the company is in good shape at the moment and has filed as protection against future liabilities to its victims. Even Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) finds this procedure "dubious and unusual at best," placing as it does "additional strains" on the American bankruptcy system that it "can ill afford" right now. But Manville wants to have more than the protection of temporary bankruptcy. It is also

seeking to have the federal government share the financial burden it faces. John A. McKinney, Manville's chairman, says this would not be a bailout because many of the nine million workers who have been exposed to asbestos over the past 40 years worked in government shipyards during World War II, and that "the government itself needs a bailout from a moral point of view."

But in seeking a bill that would require the federal government to pay almost all the cost of compensating asbestos victims, Manville has not admitted its own moral obligations. Nor does McKinney say whether during World War II the government shared Johns-Manville's

secret about the asbestos hazards.

The Manville case is a classic of corporate irresponsibility. In utter disregard for the public health and safety, it pursues the maximum private gain. Then, when found out and threatened with being brought to account for its actions, it at-

*The asbestos company wants the public to pay twice.*

tempts to get the public, made up in large part by its own tax-paying victims, to pay again. So the American people are asked to subsidize their corporate rulers first by sacrificing their health and safety and then with their dollars.

And Manville is not alone. A wide variety of other substances, including benzene, DES (diethylstilbestrol), Agent Orange, radioactive material and other industrial products expose workers and citizens to similar or even greater problems. Three Mile Island is another case in point. There, too, corporate disregard for public safety ended in near disaster. And there, too, the corporation (a "public" utility) has been trying to get its victims to pay so that the stockholders can continue to get their guaranteed returns.

We do understand that in Manville's case, as in that of Three Mile Island, the corporation's assets may be insufficient to compensate its victims adequately—and that in this situation the role of government in providing for the general welfare is to help out. But if it does—if the taxpayers' money is used to rescue an incompetent and anti-social corporation—then we, the taxpayers, ought also to become shareholders in such corporations, in order to protect our own investment and the interests of the employees and the public.

Meanwhile, there is also an immediate need to stop the Reagan administration's process of dismantling regulations designed to protect health and safety. Sheldon W. Samuels, director of health, safety and environment for the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, proposes a three-point program. First, "an effective OSHA run by people with the hearts and minds to do the job." Second, a system of "intervention to locate and assist those exposed to hazards, along with research to find ways to protect workers." Third, a system of adequate compensation for victimized workers and their families.

Much of this program was enacted during the Carter administration, however, and the ease with which the Reagan team could dismantle it is instructive. The public health and safety can be protected only by the public and its representatives, not by those whose first priority is corporate profit—or by corporate representatives in government, such as we now have. ■

*Now it's time to jump ahead*

The outpouring of support in response to our appeal for \$160,000 to guarantee the continued publication of *In These Times* has been overwhelming. So far, with the contributions still pouring in, we have received more than \$100,000 from some 2,436 subscribers, and it now appears certain that we will survive.

The money, of course, is vital, but the expressions of concern and support that have accompanied it have also been tremendously heartening, both as an indication of appreciation for the work by our staff and as a sign of growing determination to build a popular movement for socialism in the U.S. in the '80s. The hundreds of letters and telephone calls are much more than a morale booster for all of us here on Milwaukee Avenue. They make it clear that a new left politics is struggling to be born.

That's the good news. The bad is that many subscribers, quite prudently to be sure, have held up on renewing their subscriptions until they saw the outcome of our dire appeal. Well, the returns are mostly in and it is now safe to renew, and to get your friends and associates to subscribe. The next step in this process is for us to double our circulation. With the kind of support we've been getting these past two months, that no longer seems like a pipe dream. ■



*This victim of asbestosis is one of many who have died as a result of inadequate protection against asbestos fibers.*

*Changing the guard at ITT*

Bob Nicklas, our associate publisher of the past three years, has resigned and moved on to the State and Local Leadership Project in Chicago. As everyone who knows him will attest, Bob did an outstanding job for *In These Times* under extremely difficult circumstances. His departure has been expected for some time, but it is still a wrenching experience for us.

That's the bad news. The good news is that Elizabeth Goldstein, who has been our business manager this past year, and who was program director of the Foundation for National Progress in San Francisco before she came here, has replaced Bob as associate publisher. Those of you who have gotten to know Bob will soon get to know Elizabeth. We expect you'll be as impressed with her as we are. ■



# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## HUMANITARIANISM

REGRETTABLY, I AM WRITING TO cancel my subscription and further financial contributions to *In These Times*. I have found your periodical to be generally excellent and actually the only such publication of its kind that is truthful in its reporting of domestic and national events. However, something—a slant, an undercurrent, an implication—has been seeping into your coverage that I find absolutely frightening. It is a very perceptible anti-Semitism. This I cannot reconcile in any way with the justness of a cause.

You do not simply report the events in Lebanon, but rather, you take sides and in so doing you never miss an opportunity to malign Israel not as a nation acting like any other nation but as Jews committing unique atrocities that therefore justify any anti-Semitic outburst. I can no longer fail to read your underlying message, and I want no part of it.

I am not a Jew, either. I am simply a saddened citizen who was hoping to find in your reporting and your political philosophy the underlying recognition of humanitarianism as the strongest force, the only principle that really matters.

—Pamela J. Melleher  
Woodridge, Ill.

## THE HARD WAY

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COVERAGE OF the Middle East, especially Diana Johnstone on Lebanon (*ITT*, Aug. 11). It would probably be easier to fund-raise for the paper if you avoided that issue. We're glad you don't.

—Robert and Nancy Wallace  
Ithaca, N.Y.

## MAKING THINGS CLEAR

I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR THE ARTICLE by Diana Johnstone, "The Old, the New and the Outsiders" (*ITT*, Aug. 11). Whether the establishment press and television networks have assumed we all understand the history of the situation in Lebanon, or whether they have not felt they had time to explain it to us, I don't know. I have had many questions for which I could not find answers until I read Johnstone's article. Now, as I watch the evacuation of the PLO from Lebanon, as I watch the Christians celebrating the election of Bashir Gemayel, and hear the praises of Begin for the new president, I understand a great deal more than I otherwise would have.

Besides this, I must say, the writing itself is concise and to the point. A great deal has been expressed in a few carefully chosen words.

—Jonas Candler  
Candler, N.C.

## HIDING BEHIND WOMEN'S SKIRTS

SINCE ITS FOUNDING IN 1965, THE PLO has sought to destroy Israel through war. It just had its war, and it lost. It lost heavily and ungloriously because it exploited its own contempt for the lives of innocents by stationing military units, armaments and artillery in the midst of the Lebanese civilian population.

The single responsible political act

the PLO could now take to begin the process to establish an independent Palestinian state and end five decades of killing would be to clearly and irrevocably announce to the world that it would recognize the right of the Israeli people to live in peace behind secure borders, if Israel would, in return, permit real self-determination for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Any such statement would drive Israel to the negotiation table.

So it is with both profound sorrow and contempt that I read the recent statement of Hartem Hussein, PLO observer to the UN, who rejected any possibility of the PLO recognizing Israel and thus rejected for all practical purposes any possibility of peace in this era—while despicably sour-graping Israel's military proficiency as a "holocaust."

Israel had the military might to create a real holocaust for the Palestinians had she wanted to. Instead of crushing her enemy in blood or imprisoning the entire lot of them, she let the PLO save face and march out of a surrounded enclave, without even surrendering their side arms.

As to the "heroic" stand of remaining in Beirut for 70 days—I hardly consider it "heroic" to take pop shots at the Israelis from behind the skirts of women and children.

It is just as opportunistic and dishonest for Mr. Hussein to quote the New Jewish Agenda (of which I am a founding member) as being for Palestinian self-determination without also stating that we are also for safety and security for the State of Israel—as it would be for the Israeli ambassador to quote *NJA* as being for the latter and not the former.

Finally, I wish to express my sadness and disappointment with sections of the progressive community (which I have been and do remain part of since the late '40s) for ignorantly taking sides in a struggle where the political irresponsibility of both sides makes the completely legitimate self-determination aspirations of both sides, impossible to achieve—short of protracted war.

—A. Robert Kaufman  
Baltimore

## HELP!

A FEW WEEKS AGO, I ORDERED A SUBSCRIPTION to your paper because I had received an envelope stating: "Socialism is a Dirty Word." Inside the envelope this statement was modified with the addition of the words: "except to the poor, the hungry, the naked, etc."; or something to that effect.

It was mostly because of this modification that I subscribed to your publication. I felt that someone had finally decided to stand up for the ones that needed help the most.

I do not consider myself a poorly educated person, but I am certainly not on a doctorate level. So what is in the first article that I read in a recent edition? An article by Chuck Fager (*ITT*, Aug. 11) discussing the "vituperative polemics" of two guys who are having a debate on the pros and cons of social programs.

Most of the poor, hungry and naked people that I know don't even have a dictionary to look for these super words.

PULLEEEEEEESE...Chuck, let's get it all back down to Earth, where us common folk will know just what in the hell

you are talking about....or stop asking us for money to support *your* literary semantics!!!!

—Richard B. Brown  
Irving, Texas

## IT SHOULD LOOK GOOD TO THE WORKERS

THE RECENT ARTICLE ON THE SOVIET Union, "No Satisfaction" (*ITT*, July 28), expresses a chic fashion among some American socialists: a hostile critical stance based on a priori assumptions: the Soviet Union is the "land of an aborted revolution...a bureaucratic class has usurped all political power, the official ideology is usually meaningless...and being a dedicated Marxist would definitely get one sent to jail..."

These conclusions are based on the authors' experience in the USSR with a group of young professional black marketers, university youth of the affluent sector, hardly a representative sampling of Soviet society.

But even so, the account could just as easily substantiate the revolution's success. Igor and Anna's dream of coming to the U.S. (Anna has relatives here) and buying all the things they see advertised in *Playboy* and *Rolling Stone* could turn into a "nightmare," say the authors, for "they are so secure in their Soviet cocoon they assume that American society, too, provides a social safety net." Most of their paychecks would need to go for rent, medical care, old age and unemployment insurance and car expenses.

Igor and Anna, they say, haven't "any idea of what the work ethic means in a capitalist system riddled with unemployment, [since] the USSR has too many jobs and not enough people." Furthermore, "the workers of the new post-scarcity Russia work with old European style and grace—not very fast and not very hard."

Beyond that, Igor and Anna "display little sense of private property or the selfishness that makes capitalism flourish....Neither they nor their friends can imagine competing with each other for jobs." In fact, say the authors, Igor and Anna "cannot imagine no jobs, no love and a wolf at the door."

But if all that is so, where is the aborted revolution? There is in the USSR, it seems, not only full employment, but an excess of jobs over people. Tell that in Detroit!

Igor and Anna pay 15 rubles a month for rent! Tell that to the young marrieds

here wanting to buy a home with interest rates at around 18 percent. Igor and Anna hardly need a car, say the authors, since public transportation is so prevalent and cheap, although they dream of owning one if they come to the U.S. Tell that to the harried American commuters bucking traffic every morning driving to work.

Why, then, do the authors come to their negative conclusion? My guess is that they view the USSR from the viewpoint of the New Left of the '60s here, from the ground of goals and aspirations of the educated middle class in the U.S.

Their ground of viewpoint is certainly not that of the textile and auto workers, or the unemployed youth of the black ghettos, or of the exploited masses of the Third World, all of whom would respond positively to the sort of life opportunities they describe in the Soviet Union.

—Gregory Bergman  
Berkeley, Calif.

## UTTER FRUSTRATION

PERHAPS YOU CAN IMAGINE HOW devastatingly depressing it is to us superannuated and disabled survivors of a past era of leftist activism to receive the never-ending flood of letters such as yours. There is no way to express our feeling of utter frustration and helplessness at our impotence to assist in the financial sustenance of the organs that strive to keep alive the voice of the left.

As we watch the cost of rent on a one-room efficiency, as well as food, clothing and medicines constantly climb, we rack our brains to try to find something we can cut out of the next month's budget so that we can make a contribution to *Progressive*, *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, *ITT*, *Public Citizen*, *Asner*, *Lear*, myriad anti-Moral Majority organizations, etc. Somewhere along the line, the left has got to consolidate or see each fragmented unit fall by the wayside one by one.

I wish I could scratch up more than this. Indeed, I hope I will be able to renew my subscription when it expires next year.

—Ted Means  
New Orleans

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

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# PERSPECTIVES

## Idea of Palestine hounds Zionists

By Edward W. Said

**W**ITH THOUSANDS OF Israeli troops ravaging Lebanon, with literally uncountable civilian casualties caused by terror bombing, with a political campaign designed expressly to dehumanize the Palestinians (two-legged beasts, terrorists, as Begin and his minions call them) in order to kill them more easily—with all this and worse, it may now seem inappropriate to reflect on the idea of Palestine. Certainly the Philip Habib mission allowed for no such reflection, and this, like American policy itself, takes the sense out of the Middle East.

Unlike Europe, where at least there is a historical sense of the human and political meaning of the struggle for Palestine by Palestinians, the American scene is rife either with on-the-spot reductive reporting of the kind that encourages Israeli apologists to say the media lied about the war's horrendous scope, or with endlessly dreary commentary about questions, formulated by U.S. policymakers, that skirt the issues and confine the Palestinian problem to evacuation from Beirut.

Yet in both Europe and America, the immediate drama of the Palestinian-Lebanese tragedy threatens entirely to overwhelm thought. And even though expressions of outrage, displays of attitude and pratings about "new political opportunities" are understandable, one must not lose sight of the ideas and values embodied in the awful scenes unfolding before us. There are three important aspects of the idea of Palestine.

First, the idea of Palestine—represented by every one of the four million Palestinians—has driven the Israeli military machine to its furious assaults on Lebanon and elsewhere. There is a simple, irreducible authenticity in the simple existence of Palestinians who speak of Palestine as their homeland, an authenticity with which Zionists have been unable to deal except by massive negation and denial. Security, peace or an end to terrorism are not the root issue, but rather the assertion by every Palestinian, militant or not, that he or she was displaced, dispossessed, dispersed by Israel when it appeared in 1948. Leaving aside Begin, Sharon and Eytan, whose outrages upon

logic and life have provoked respected Israelis like Professor Yehoshua Leibowitz to speak of "Judeo-Nazism," Israeli resourcefulness has always faltered when it came to native Palestinians. Either they were ignored, or they were to be punished. For once you create a polity based, so far as Palestinians are concerned, on the advantages of being a Jew and the equal and opposite disadvantages of being a non-Jew, the collective enterprise will inevitably be called into question by the non-Jews (the Palestinians) who must live the disadvantages. The more they have done so, the more Zionists have collectively denied them. This pattern has, obviously enough, increased the level of Palestinian resistance.

Israeli's present policies are all designed to destroy the Palestinian will to national self-determination by destroying the basis for an independent Palestine. The word Palestine is forbidden on the Occupied Territories, as are any institutions expressing Palestinian nationalism—schools, universities, books, newspapers, municipal councils. Above all, it is the idea of Palestine as it has been formulated, bumblingly and perhaps confusedly by Palestinians as an idea of coeval existence in the same world now ruled by Zionists, that Israel seems to have committed its national energies to fighting. No opening articulated by the PLO, or for that matter by Zionist doves, seems unworthy of rejection, attack, abuse.

How starkly it has come down to the truth that hardline Zionists, with their purblind Western apologists in tow, stake Israel's existence on the actual liquidation of any trace of Palestinian life. How utterly despicable is Begin's demagoguery when it posited either Palestine or Treblinka while his armies were bombing refugee civilians without mercy a few miles away, and incarcerating many thousands of their men in virtual concentration camps, denied prisoner of war status.

Yet Israeli supporters like Conor Cruise O'Brien still rant on about the virtues of "peace in Galilee," ignoring the truth. For the past year alone there have been more than 7,000 Israeli violations of Lebanese air-space, territorial waters, land boundaries, each recorded by United Nations Truce Observers. Compared to one Israeli casualty during the three months prior to the invasion, Is-

rael killed several hundred Palestinians and Lebanese in air strikes and border raids, and maintained a cashiered Lebanese officer in an enclave inside Lebanon. This is the state that now says it is for a free and independent Lebanon, without at the same time concealing that it wants Lebanon ruled by its Phalangist allies. Far from the attempted assassination of Shlomo Argov being a real reason for the invasion, Israeli officials—Begin, Shamir, Sharon, Arens, Eytan—have repeatedly stated their intention to raid Lebanon. It has always been a question of "when" not of "whether." As for the gravity of the supposed PLO ability to destroy Israel, so gullibly and piously reported by the tearful O'Brien, that was never taken seriously by ruling Israelis. The war's military results have disproved it completely, although now Begin's propaganda mills are grinding out a new confection, that Israel forestalled a Soviet takeover of the Middle East. The main point has always been Israel's unrelenting war on the very concept of Palestinian nationalism, so that the aggression on Lebanon was a required extension of colonial practices on the West Bank and Gaza. Menahem Milson has been saying exactly that for well over a year.

### The last remnant of Arabism.

Second, the idea of Palestine today is the last credible and actual component of Arabism. Divided as it has rarely been before, the Arab world presents a spectacle provoking laughter and tears in equal measure. Vast wealth and potential power for good are squandered. Internecine quarrels take an unseemly toll in lives as well as resources. The greedy corruption of alienated, incompetent regimes have turned most of the Arab world into something closely resembling a prison. Along with the abrogation of democracy, the regimes justify their authoritarianism in the name of national security and of Arabism. Religious fundamentalism has been bred in direct response both to the regimes' tacit complicity with the enemies they profess to be fighting and to the Arab world's directionless drift. When creativity or talent appears it is routinely, and officially, silenced. Only cults of the ruler, the party, and the regime are given unlimited headway. And still the rhetoric of Arabism pours forth.

At its focal point is Palestine. Yet, as recent research has shown, it has always been popular pressure on indifferent rulers that brought them round to the Palestinian cause. This was the case in the Gulf during the 1936 Palestine General Strike when the first financial aid to the Palestinian Arabs was sent, and the pattern has continued since. Plainly, however, rulers have gotten the better of their people, since during the darkest days of the Israeli siege of Beirut all that the Arab states could muster was some pleading at the American court, and ineffective pleading at that. The question is why, and why is the question of Palestine relevant to all this?

For one, the presence of a body of committed, politicized Palestinian fighters organically related to their community directly impugns every inactive Arab army and party. Yasser Arafat is on the front lines with his people, not in a palace; he walks the streets as unprotected as anyone else. His enemy is the common enemy and he fights it directly, instead of resorting to public rantings expressing enmity, even as private accommodations are made with the status quo. Can it be lost on any Arab that while 500,000 Arab troops, 900 Arab planes, 3,000 Arab tanks and three Arab countries could not withstand Israeli might for more than six days in 1967, the PLO has done so for eight weeks with scarcely 100 antiquated tanks and no air force at all?

For another, the Palestinian stand in Lebanon and elsewhere incarnates opposition (indeed, the only consistent opposition) to Israeli designs on the Arab world. Consider that for at least 50 years the Zionist vision of the region has narrowed inexorably to a ghetto state on the

one hand and, on the other, an Arab world kept in a state of permanent unrest. According to a former chief of Israeli intelligence, the campaign in Lebanon wouldn't have been possible without the safeguard of a neutralized Egypt. Israeli efforts to destabilize Lebanon have been in place since the middle '50s, even down to the details of a Maronite major in South Lebanon acting as an Israeli surrogate: the Sharret diaries are irrefutable evidence of this. Gen. Sharon has been open about his plans. Last December he declared that Israeli "strategic" interests now included the whole of the adjacent Arab world, plus Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, North Africa and Zimbabwe. Jordan he has unilaterally decided is to be Palestinian, and in addition his government has bombed Iraq, annexed the Golan Heights, penetrated Saudi land, sea and air space, to say nothing of destroying Lebanon in order to make it "Christian."

Against all this, the Arab states have nothing to say, and have done less. The Palestinians are the only force actually resisting Israel in the Middle East. In this they immediately enact the ritual incantation of Arab nationalism—that imperialism must be opposed. Only the Palestinians do it because the abiding idea of Palestine, which fuels their stubbornness, has given them the courage to do so.

Third, because the idea of Palestine is grounded in the life of every Palestinian, and because it represents the only direct Arab effort against an expansionist Israel, it is also a kind of wedge opening up the discrepancy between Israel as it has appeared internationally and as it is in fact. Moral, democratic, unusual, special: These were the words baptizing Israel's creation in 1948. Its claims on the West because of European guilt over anti-Semitism continue, although almost everywhere else Israel is synonymous with ruthlessness, cruelty and oppression. The fact that no less than 24 beleaguered West Bank and Gaza mayors signed a declaration denouncing Israel's war on Lebanon and expressing unqualified support for the PLO is, despite Milson's theories, something to be noted for its own sake in the annals of settler-colonialism.

Who are the Palestinians if not the functional equivalent of Israel's blacks, or red Indians? Why, if not because of its attitude toward the Palestinians, does Israel herd together naturally with South Africa, every fourth-rate Latin American junta, the entire American right wing, from Jerry Falwell to Irving Kristol to Ronald Reagan?

As for liberals who preach support for Solidarity and tutelage for Palestinians, or those who go on sanctimoniously about terrorism and are silent when it comes to Israel's almost apocalyptic state terrorism, they are shown up for the moral cowards and liars they are because Palestinians can be seen dying on the TV screen every night.

The idea of Palestine living in all Palestinians is not just a matter of land, water and a flag. They are important, but not the only thing. What matters about Palestine is what has always prevented Israel from converting its military superiority into lasting political gains: that invincible Palestinian desire to keep hold of what is right and to reject what is wrong. By most standards, the Palestinians are a modestly endowed people, although a people possessed by what is in the strict sense a secular ideal. They want justice, but not abstract justice. Rather, they want something that can be lived by them collectively in forms that can still be called just. In support of this, they have offered no metaphysical rationale, no divinely ordained trans-historical scheme. For them the idea of Palestine is adequate to their real memory, their actual present and their minimal requirements for the future. This is the idea's power, which even the Lebanese conflagration will not diminish.

Edward W. Said is Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University.

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## IN DEPTH

# Gail Cincotta is out to Reclaim America

By David Moberg

**S**TARTING AS A HOUSEWIFE and mother who got active in her neighborhood PTA on Chicago's west side, Gail Cincotta rapidly became a local, then national, leader in community organizing. Tackling the banks and insurance companies as well as government bureaucracies from city to federal levels, Cincotta's organization—National Peoples Action (NPA)—has grown to encompass 300 groups across the country, many organized by graduates of its affiliated National Training and Information Center.

From September 10 to 14, starting in Chicago and moving through Cleveland, Philadelphia, Washington and ending in New York, NPA will be holding demonstrations and conferences with other community groups, unions and political figures to launch a Reclaim America campaign. Reclaim America also reflects changes taking place in the political thinking of community groups, including an openness to new alliances, to broader issues (fundamental questions of economic policy and even defense spending), and to a greater involvement in electoral politics.

At her office in a converted industrial loft building west of Chicago's Loop, Cincotta recently talked with *In These Times* about Reclaim America.

## How did Reclaim America get started?

We talked about Reclaim America even before Reagan's election. We saw interest rates being pushed artificially high by the Federal Reserve Board, the Carter-administration's oil deregulation, the Natural Gas Policy Act [gradually deregulating natural gas prices], deregulation of banks, the registration of 18-year-olds and Defense Department spending increases. We thought Reagan would win and figured there would be a reaction; so we wanted to pull groups together in a different way.

So in October 1980 when the American Bankers Association met, instead of dealing with them as we had on interest rates and their trying to kill the Home Loan Disclosure Act and mortgages in the community, we opened it up to more issues—what corporate boards the bankers sit on, how they fund the energy companies, their role in all the things that hurt people. We also thought we should go beyond a neighborhood constituency to invite unions, seniors and women's groups.

We had to start pulling together the community organizing network—ACORN, National Peoples Action, the training centers, the statewide networks. In January 1981, about 65 representatives came from every part of the country. People were ready to work together. One of the first successes was Big Oil Day with Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and NPA.

*This seems to represent a departure for you, taking on much bigger issues than in the past.*

We always deal with economic issues, whether it's how much money goes to a neighborhood for parks or housing and Urban Development (HUD) policy. But we found that when we won redlining [banks' practice of refusing home loans to certain neighborhoods], you could have all the loans you wanted at 20 percent, but you couldn't afford them. If you have a community where money is

starting to flow in, and interest rates go up, then the community declines. Or take a community like Roseland on the south side of Chicago where people worked in a steel mill. When it closes down they default on their mortgages. So it's not a departure: You deal with what affects your constituency. In 1972 we had to make a decision to go beyond the west side coalition in Chicago to sponsor the first nationwide conference of neighborhood groups, to take a risk. We gained some new constituencies, got a few wins under our belt, and 10 years later we have to think about how to do it better.

*But you and other community groups are known for taking on specific, limited targets with clear possibilities for victories. Now you're taking on the structure of power in the American economy.*

When we organized the first national conference people said the same thing: You're taking on the banks or HUD, you'll never get anywhere. But it requires breaking down into pieces how to do it—community reinvestment act, home mortgage disclosure, state finance agencies. Instead of "cleaning up HUD" you say we need this regulation, this court suit, this legislation, and when you put it all together it makes a difference.

*Gail Cincotta founded National Peoples Action as a network of community organizations. Now she's going a step further.*



How do you deal with jobs? Maybe it's a public works program that would deal with a couple problems in this country: fixing the infrastructure of this country—the bridges and highways—and putting people back to work.

In the '60s and '70s racial groups were played against each other—it was the fault of blacks, Hispanics or white ethnics. Now when you go to a meeting, like with Paul Volcker, they say your problem is the unions, or your problem is the seniors who are rich and don't need social security. There's incredible class doubt;

they'd rather have you fighting each other. But we say, no, our problem is you. It's your policies.

*What concrete pieces do you want to deal with now?*

On jobs it will break down locally to dealing with industrial revenue bonds—the banks and cities. Everybody is getting a break with these bonds, and the product is supposed to be jobs, but it isn't. We'll say to Congress, if tax breaks are supposed to produce jobs, put that on paper. Don't just give the break and hope it trickles down and jobs come.

*It also sounds like you're moving toward a focus on the legislators themselves rather than bureaucratic administrators.*

There's more of that and dealing directly with big energy companies and with banks.

*So where's your muscle?*

We're building on the past. Just to stop gas decontrol and have the headlines, "President Reagan Backs Down," that was a major victory. First you've got to stop them from doing harm, then you can move into something productive. Congress knows that you'll be in these discussions. And we're also targeting companies and using publicity for leverage on them. We're getting support from unions, like the Machinists, AFSCME (public workers), Food and Commercial Workers, Clothing and Textile Workers. Unions will be involved at all the cities of our Reclaim America demonstrations.

*But you're talking about tackling the core issues of the Reagan administration and bucking a conservative mood in Congress.*

There were 5,000 at Big Oil Day, but there were also hundreds or thousands at Sohio, Texaco, Standard Oil shareholders' meetings. The difference in our style is that we not only have mass demonstrations to show support and solidarity, but

*MX missile.*

People didn't know the Comptroller from the Federal Home Loan Bank. We were always careful to say we wanted to clean up and eliminate things that make no sense or hurt people. So in the Defense Department we look at the amount of money spent for a tank that doesn't go anywhere and can only be carried by one ship.

Soon people see one bureaucracy is like another. The goal here is housing, the goal there is defense. Well, you're all doing a pretty bad job. These departments are supposed to do certain things, and you can find them in the regulations. So you go down the list: this is wasteful, this is a crock, this piece of machinery is equal to these social cuts.

We're accused of not having this whole philosophical thing. But we can understand it and talk it. Yet to organize people and win you've got to break it down to common sense: how it works, why it works, why it's bad.

*Recently there was an article about how an originally pro-labor Democrat gradually came to become a conservative, pro-business Democrat as corporate money flowed to his campaigns. How do you deal with that?*

Pressure. There's money and people pressure. Some of the groups are now more into electoral politics. That's a new arena we're oriented toward more.

*What are your current thoughts on NPA involvement in electoral politics?*

Groups have always done it in an unofficial way. I'm glad somebody else is doing it. I see it as a complimentary thing that other groups can plug into. Even if you get people elected to office, you need a strong force outside to keep them on the right track. If we found out one or two people were responsible for stopping rescinding the National Gas Policy Act, then zeroing in on them would be a tactic, which we could support, as opposed to having what you are doing being electoral politics. We don't avoid it. It's just not the thrust of what we're doing.

*Have you ever thought of running for Congress?*

No. Anyway, it would have to be Senator or Mayor. At certain times those opportunities open up. Maybe being born and raised in Chicago, I felt it was so closed. If you're one alderman out of 50, forget it. I think we've made a lot of impact pushing from the outside. I know I feel very effective now. Could you do that as a Senator?

*How do you see political attitudes of so-called middle America?*

They're giving people elected to office four years or two years. If they don't do it, they're out. They want someone who will say what they're doing and do it. It's all these issues that we've been talking about that concern people, issues that relate to some sense of security in life. Their kids might be called into service. We might all be blown up. By the way, there are no jobs. Gas is going up. We can't buy houses. They want somebody to do something, maybe making America strong from the inside rather than building bombs and going somewhere else.

It will depend on who the Democrats put up against Reagan. And it's not just finding the person. The Democrats have to come up with a program, and they haven't done it yet. Maybe out of what we're all doing now will come that more organized middle to left with the whole platform. Maybe then you'll see a heck of a lot of changes in how they deal with politics, affect the Democratic or Republican parties or start something different.

Reclaim America is also a way for people to take back their symbols, the flag, the country. It's an alternative to what the so-called Moral Majority is doing. I think people who are part of the Moral Majority are really worried about housing, energy, family, jobs and neighborhood, but without a good alternative to participate in. You've got to take the country back. It's our country.

*National People's Action is located at 1123 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, IL 60607, Telephone (312) 243-3038.*



## HISTORY

# A clear, new vision of the Communist Party

**Which Side Were You On?**  
By Maurice Isserman  
Wesleyan University Press,  
303 pp., \$19.95

By Lester Rodney

Was yet another book on the vicissitudes of the American Communist Party necessary after the formidable array of tomes published by the Fund for the Republic?

Unfortunately, yes. The Fund books, written when the party and the emotions it aroused were still warm, could have been titled *The Communists as Villains*, *The Communists as Unspeakables* or *The Communists as Russian Stooges*. Not that there wasn't some villainy, some unspeakable and some stooging for the

and dispassionate examination of the Communist Party during the '30s and '40s and beyond. He had two large advantages over earlier historians. As is mercifully true with a new generation of scholars interested in the left, he does not get thrown into a tizzy, one way or the other, by the Soviet Union. And he has used to the full newly available material—the extensive Earl Browder Papers, minutes of Communist meetings and interviews with participants.

*Which Side* thus goes far toward restoring the real-life complexity of the Communist story, without pulling its punches against the party's sins. And, surprise for a documented work of scholarship, it is freshly written and does not plod.

## Idealists, not zombies.

Isserman focuses mainly on a generation of Communists who came in through their own experiences during the tumultuous Depression and union-organizing '30s. They supplied much of the middle-level leadership, and most of the 15,000 members who acquitted themselves well in the armed forces during the war. They never flinched under the batterings of McCarthyite repression, but they left in disheartened droves when they found themselves unable to change the party's bad old ways after the Khrushchev revelations and the invasion of Hungary.

This, of course, was also a generation that swallowed abrupt and shallow changes from popular frontism to Yanks Are Not Coming isolationism, to wartime super patriotism, to Browder revisionism to Foster fundamentalism. This oft-told party history is

enriched by the new source material, revealing some of the tensions behind the appearance of monolithic unity. The party's wartime no-strike pledge and alleged complete abandonment of the fight for black rights come under new and provocative examination. Isserman is scrupulously fair and never sycophantic on these hotly debated issues.

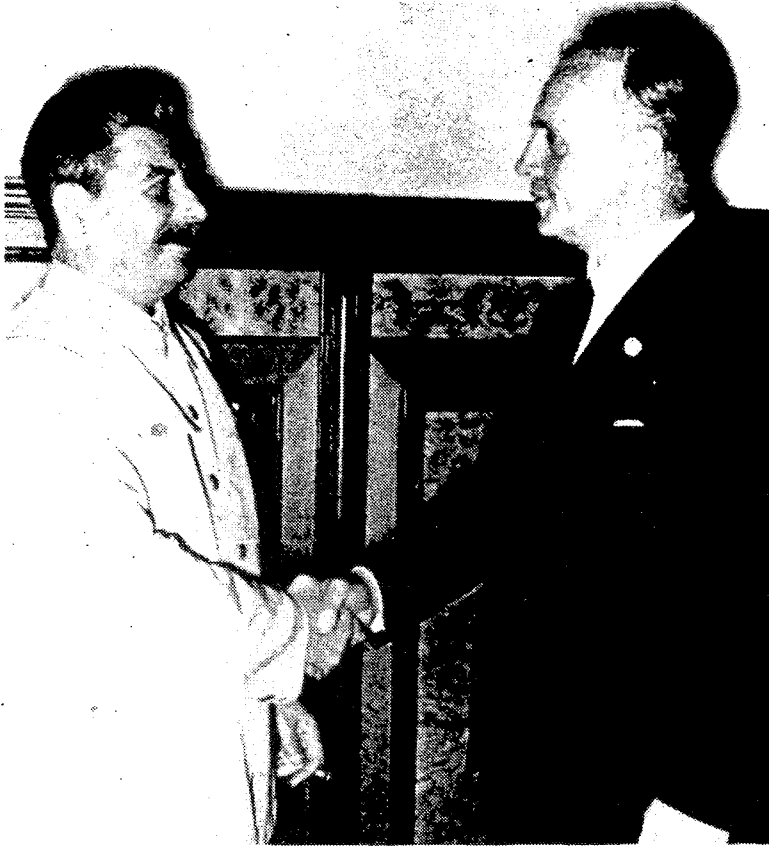
Earl Browder emerges for the first time from a cardboard image to a person whose aloof mannerisms and vanity played a role in his ultimate political demise. The author raises the interesting possibility that the party over-interpreted the intention of the notorious Duclos article, which resulted in the dumping of Browder and installation of Foster and

a harder line. He cites as evidence Browder's friendly reception in the Soviet Union after his ousting. Isserman does not confuse Browder's postwar utopianism with an American road to democratic socialism, but does make the case that by junking all of Browder's innovative work the Communists took a fatal detour from ever finding that road.

Isserman does offer a thought on why undigested Browder theories looking toward class peace through self-interest after the war went down so easily with battle-hardened veterans of class conflict. It is a perception that could only flow from seeing Communists as ordinary people devoted to an ideal, rather than as some kind of implacable zombies.

"With such a monstrous evil about to be destroyed, at a terrible cost," he writes, "it is perhaps not surprising that many Communists began to find Browder's vision of a harmonious postwar world more appealing than the prospect of further dis-

*The Nazi-Soviet pact (below, Stalin shakes hands with Field Marshal von Ribbentrop)*



order and bloodshed."

This jibes with my recollections of the time. I remember, in the Philippines when the war ended, how several of us got together and began groping to comprehend the enormity of it. After all the dislocations, sacrifices, Spain, and the mightiest military convulsion in history, it was over. Fascism's back was broken, new vistas opened. (In five years we would all be making provisional arrangements for the care of our children in case we wound up in jail.)

There are, as there probably must be in a work of this magnitude, some lapses. In summing up Foster's outlook as counterposed to Browder, the author uncharacteristically overstates: "Foster looked to political and economic cataclysms—a new depression, the triumph of fascism in America, a third World War—as the motor for social change." I never heard Foster's worst enemies in the party ever charge him with privately wanting or advocating such horrors, and nobody but nuts would have joined a party that did. Isserman is scholarly enough otherwise so that a reviewer would ask him on what that hair-raising assertion is based.

The author also succumbs to the traditional eggheadedness of historians, which looks upon sports as kid stuff off to one side of reality. He fails to mention the campaign launched by the party and the *Daily Worker* to end the ban on black players in our national pastime, a successful undertaking that flowed smack center from the very generation this book focuses on. Black party leader Ben Davis Jr. saw Harlem recognition of that historic campaign as one of the major ingredients in his precedent-setting elections to the New York City Council.

But these are minor-league criticisms of the first full-bodied history of the Communist Party of the U.S., a book light years truer and thus more valuable than its predecessors.

Lester Rodney was the sports editor for the *Daily Worker*.

**Isserman is not thrown into a tizzy by the USSR.**

Russians in the Communist experience, but writers can seldom jangle subjectively and produce objective history.

Worse, since American Communists have been a maligned minority in the nation's political life, rarely able to get their views into the major marketplaces of ideas, it's easy to get away with a cheap shot.

Consider the casual observation by David Shannon in *The Decline of American Communism* (one of the Fund volumes) that "the most important kind of underground" in the American party "was engaged in espionage and sabotage in the service of the Soviet Union." This blockbuster charge is never documented, for very good reason. The FBI boasted that it had the party riddled at all levels (hardly the great feat it was made out to be in Grade C movies, as every CP recruiter knows). And what single thing would the agents have most dearly loved to bring back to the Boss? Why, exactly that—proof of espionage and sabotage in the service of the Soviet Union. J. Edgar's borers-from-within could never produce what Ol' Beady Eyes wanted. The party was never even charged with espionage, let alone sabotage.

Is this important? Does it really matter to America to make the distinction between starry-eyed myopia toward the world's first country to proclaim itself socialist and being agents of that country? If these distinctions aren't important, there is no problem with the persistent lie that Americans who want something better for their country than capitalist exploitation are not real Americans.

Fortunately, Maurice Isserman has produced a responsible

## FICTION

## Taking the Ecotopian road to survival

**Ecotopia Emerging**  
By Ernest Callenbach  
Bantam, \$3.50

By George Scialabba

Ernest Callenbach's *Ecotopia* (1975) was perhaps the finest utopian fiction since *News from Nowhere*. Its sequel is not quite up to the same mark. *Ecotopia Emerging* is merely excellent and invaluable.

*Ecotopia* introduced a new country, the American Northwest (Washington, Oregon, northern California) in 1999, nearly two decades after its secession from the U.S. A series of dispatches by the first American journalist allowed into Ecotopia since secession portrayed a society that had realized classical libertarian ideals as well as the most advanced, ecologically responsible technology, and had attained a biologically and so-

cially "stable state" while the rest of the mainland slid into economic chaos, political repression and environmental disaster.

*Ecotopia Emerging* tells how we might get there from here. It constructs a scenario in which many of the promising ideas of the last few decades—ideas about participatory democracy, direct action, decentralization, sexual equality, ecology and alternative energy sources—enter current history and inspire social movements. Alternating short narrative segments with historical meditations, news reports, intelligence memos and political speeches, the novel achieves an almost cinematic effect.

The main strands of the story are: the development of a simple and efficient photovoltaic cell by a California high-school student, under the shadow of desperate oil and power companies and harassing FBI agents; the spread

**Ecotopians borrow some tactics from the New Left.**

in the Northwest of a mass, grassroots, decentralized party, the Survivalist Party, at first advocating mainly ecological sanity and energy self-sufficiency, but soon espousing economic decentralization, workers' control, local autonomy and the end of weapons production; and a sharpening conflict through the early '80s between the Survivalist Northwest and an increasingly bankrupt, militarized and repressive U.S., climaxing in secession at a moment when American troops are tied down by insurgencies in

Brazil and Saudi Arabia.

Along the way a nuclear meltdown in Washington results in the recall of that state's pro-nuclear governor. The Oregon legislature imposes a heavy tax on car ownership, overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. The town of Bolinas, Calif., where the new do-it-yourself photovoltaic cell is invented, tries to unhook from utility power lines and eventually faces an invasion by the National Guard. A group of terminally ill persons bomb chemical and pesticide plants, damaging only property and coming forward immediately afterward for trial, in order to call attention to the environmental roots of the cancer epidemic.

The book's political center of gravity is the progress of the Survivalist Party. A bunch of friends—mostly Bay Area professionals—are galvanized by the continuing corporate and governmental



## SOCIAL POLICY

assault on common sense, public safety and the environment. From a loosely-knit study group, they become an action group, co-operating with local struggles, forming a network of community, labor, religious and academic people, issuing reports and background papers, speaking in neighborhoods and over cable TV.

Some of their organizing tactics reflect lessons learned from the experience of the New Left. Public meetings are kept small, conducted in a circle, facilitated but not dominated by the chair and open to the expression of feeling. There are also startling innovations. For example, a Survivalist engineer designs a two-way cable TV channel, so that immediately after a Survivalist speech or statement is broadcast, a "town meeting" can take place. As popular participation grows and the Northwest is menaced by a national government in thrall to the energy, auto and defense industries, the party becomes a mass movement.

The novel's two main characters—the teenage inventor of the new photovoltaic cell and the leader of the Survivalist Party—are women, and most of the important and interesting actions in the book are initiated or led by women. Better still, there's no fuss made over this.

Most utopian fictions are comfortably vague about the details of transition from present misery to future bliss. *Ecotopia Emerging* risks specificity, and largely succeeds. But not entirely. There are a couple of distracting improbabilities. Nothing is said about the financial basis of the Survivalist Party. A decent respect for the sensibilities of all those of us who have watched political projects languish and finally expire for lack of money should have prompted Callenbach to tie up this thread. Second is a plot thread involving blackmail. A few enterprising Ecotopians build small nuclear explosives and plant them in New York and Washington, D.C., to forestall a possible American invasion. Or at least they manage to convince the FBI that they've done this. (The paranoid Bureau may not be hard to bluff.) I find it difficult to believe that any American president would hesitate to sacrifice New York and Washington, D.C., in order to crush a fractions independent region.

Callenbach's literary gifts are uneven. Characterization is sometimes flat, dialogue occasionally trite. The novel tells a number of love stories, some romantic, some filial, and there are awkward moments. Yet such is the sweetness and generosity of Callenbach's egalitarian, feminist sensibility that the affections in the novel finally seem extraordinarily moving.

Many people have praised Rudolf Bahro's achievement in (to use Raymond Williams' words) "thinking through, in unusually sustained detail, the process of transformation of conditions and needs." This is precisely what Callenbach has done, in even more vivid and sustained detail. A few outstanding syntheses have appeared in America in recent years: Walzer's *Radical Principles*, Mattick's *Marx and Keynes*, and Chomsky's *Towards a New Cold War*. In imaginative resources and liberatory potential, the *Ecotopia* books rank among them.

George Scialabba is an associate editor of *Root & Branch*, a libertarian socialist journal.

# Horatio Alger



USA 20c

## No place to go: a new breed of poor migrants

Horatio Alger, Farewell: The End of the American Dream  
By Celeste MacLeod  
Wideview Books, 310 pp., \$7.50

By Gerald T. Burns

Staff workers at the "alternative agencies" set up in San Francisco and other cities to cope with the hippie influx in the '60s began to notice as the years wore on that many of their new clients did not fit the hippie mold. Lacking education, almost totally lacking in resources and possessed of attitudes and values that set them subtly apart from the flower children as well, the newcomers were at first referred to simply as "street people." But in actuality they were, Celeste MacLeod argues in *Horatio Alger, Farewell*, the advance guard of a distinct new social phenomenon, a wave of "new migrants" who would come in the '70s to dominate the market for alternative services.

The new migrants, according to MacLeod, "are transient youths from the nonaffluent society." Predominantly white, these sons and daughters of blue-collar families in the older industrial regions of the U.S. have more in common with the hobos ("casual migratory workers," for her) of an earlier time than with the beats and the hippies whose footsteps they followed, initially, into places like the Haight and Telegraph Hill, the East Village and Old Town. "They are not dropouts," in the words of one

agency report: "They were never allowed in.... Their problem is survival, and they have no time to organize themselves into... [an] alternative society." Indeed, their first priority has tended to be, as it was for their hobo predecessors, finding a job.

But a job is precisely what has, with agonizing regularity, eluded most of the new migrants. Yet unlike black and other minority youths, they have not been thwarted by prejudice. It is not prejudice—at least not racial prejudice—for an employer to turn down an applicant who has a scanty employment record, no influential contacts, few skills and probably little notion of how to talk in an interview and who, moreover, having hit town a week or a month ago with empty pockets and no place to stay, is likely to be tattered, unwashed and worn out, and unlikely to have a phone.

These, then, are MacLeod's rather prosaic subjects: neither flamboyant cultural radicals nor members of a long oppressed and newly visible minority, just white kids from the lower rungs of the working class, homeless and painfully hard up. What does she see as responsible for their plight?

Several things have entered in, the first of which being the brute economic fact that there are not enough jobs to go around. Reminding us that "Youth unemployment is frequently a euphemism for unemployment in gen-

eral," MacLeod points to a particular scarcity of unskilled and semiskilled positions, attributable in her view to automation and the policies of multinational corporations.

A second factor is the Horatio Alger complex, the "American dream" of the book's title. Admittedly, at first glance these uprooted youths seem more out of Dickens than out of one of Alger's rags-to-riches tales: They don't want millions, they are just, like Micawber, "waiting for something to turn up." But MacLeod is surely right to insist that they have internalized some vague but strong belief in the existence of abundant economic opportunity and in the power of the individual by dint of hard work and savvy, to take advantage of it. It is, in part, this belief that has encouraged them to hit the road in hopes of bettering their lot. (Indeed, one reason why fewer minority than white youths have joined the ranks of the new migrants appears to be that they are less likely to be taken in by the "dream" of success in the first place.) It is the same belief that allows politicians and the public to leave the migrants to their own often woefully inadequate devices—and when they fail to accuse them, with a final twist of irony, of shiftlessness.

Finally, the counterculture and its gurus must bear some of the blame. For, paradoxical as it may seem (and it is a paradox MacLeod does not explore), even as they bought into the success ethos, the new migrants were powerfully attracted to the message emanating from Haight-Ashbury. The "hippie philosophy," with its denigration of money and social position, its celebration of brotherhood and "meaningful work," was "music to the ears of young people cemented to low-paying jobs in communities where they and their families were nobodies."

Yet such notions were to prove hazardous to their social and economic health. For when the majority of the flower children had safely re-entered the affluent society, the new migrants found themselves left behind in the former hippie enclaves (and increasingly, over time, in the central city areas once inhabited by the hobos), not only without "meaningful work" (for which they had never had the education to qualify anyway), but without work of any kind. In other words, conned again, or twice over. The "dreams"—whether of conventional success or Consciousness III—were seductive, but they had been concocted by and for members of the affluent society, and youths living on a narrow margin of survival were ill-equipped to realize them.

Certainly for MacLeod, Charles Reich is not quite the arch-villain that Horatio Alger is. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, in this matter of the counterculture, as elsewhere, she draws a firm line between the interests of those with a range of career and life options ("optionaires" is her slightly mocking term for them) and the interests of the roughly two-thirds of the population largely bereft of such options. And it is one of the great strengths of this book that its author, while acknowledging an affinity for certain "optionaire" values, should so consistently perceive the plight of the new migrants in class terms, as an extension of the his-

toric experience of working (and out of work) people in capitalist America.

The book has significant weaknesses as well. MacLeod's writing is "pop" sociology (with dashes of cultural history and economics added in): It mixes scholarly opinion, mostly borrowed, with journalistic reportage. Readers expecting something of the Studs Terkel touch in reportage will come away disappointed—the voices of these down-and-out youths are too seldom heard.

### The counterculture and its gurus must bear some of the blame.

But are those voices even still around? MacLeod writes as though the new migrants she describes are with us now. Yet the sources she relies upon for her description date, with very few exceptions, from 1976 and earlier. Likewise many of her allusions (to the strong presence of the counterculture, the recession of 1974) recall a time gone by. Have the new migrants, too, gone by? Presumably not, or not entirely. Still, as the second half of the book brings us gradually up toward the present, we hear much less of them and much more of such new phenomena as Sunbelt migration and such vast problems as youth unemployment in general. One begins to suspect that the core of MacLeod's study was substantially completed by 1977 or so and then added to rather than reworked for publication.

The book leaves one with a host of questions about today's new migrants. How many are they? Where headed? What are the chances, in this recession of 1982, that the vaunted "safety net" will break their fall?

Certainly the chances would be better if some of the recommendations advanced at the end of the book were to be adopted, e.g., establishing European-style hostels in our cities to provide temporary lodging for homeless newcomers. But for a critic of economic individualism, MacLeod gives surprisingly little attention to the possibilities of collective action. Instead, she stresses the need for attitudinal change and the building of a new consensus. Thus: "It is time to say, 'Horatio Alger, farewell!'; '...it is essential that we work toward this goal' [redistribution of wealth]; and 'People at every income level, except the very bottom, need to lower their expectations.'" From her work with the down-and-out of American society it seems that MacLeod has drawn a very different conclusion from the one Tom Hayden and Carl Wittman took away from their experience in a Newark ghetto in 1963: "that change comes [not] through argument and instruction [but] through power."

Perhaps MacLeod's deeply compassionate book will serve as a catalyst in securing justice for the new migrants. But in the meantime she asks those youths to put a lot of trust in the optionaires.

Gerald T. Burns teaches American studies and English at Wesleyan University.



# ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



War-torn El Salvador is the subject of an NBC documentary.

Anne Nelson

By Pat Aufderheide

When the CBS documentary *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception* aired last February, it provoked unprecedented controversy. A *TV Guide* expose accused the show of inaccuracy and bias; a CBS study admitted sloppiness; and Gen. William Westmoreland, the documentary's target, is considering a lawsuit. Now at CBS they're clutching "the Bible"—the thick loose-leaf book of broadcast standards—before they make a non-fiction move.

But accuracy on TV continues to be a disputed issue. A recent NBC documentary, *Whatever Happened in El Salvador?*, is instructive for all those now searching for a by-the-book way to truth at the networks. This documentary, first aired August 21, may be challenged on specific numbers, dates or allegations. But most disturbing is its perspective, something it's a lot harder to draw up hard-and-fast rules for.

The documentary gives a new spin to the argument for continued and improved military aid to El Salvador. The reason El Salvador needs more aid is because the military elite is the most entrenched and powerful institution in the country, and the younger generation seems educable. But modern-minded officers are hindered by, among other things, higher-up corruption and lower-level stupidity, especially the brute savagery of forces such as the Hacienda Police and the National Guard.

The closing puts it all in perspective: "If we and our democratic friends in El Salvador can't change things our way, Castro and his friends will change things their way."

This could be an ad for administration policy, not a news report. As reporter John Dinges wrote on July 4 in the *Washington Post*, the administration ad-

vocates sending in more advisors in order to get more control over brigade-level troops in El Salvador. (The documentary was filmed during July.)

But the argument is noteworthy not only because it dovetails so precisely with administration wishes, but also because of its focus on the military and counter-insurgency. Its hero is Colonel Ochoa, a counter-insurgency expert who understands how to fight guerrillas on their own terms, who is rigorously strict with his own soldiers and who offers medical help in the countryside as a "rare benign military presence." His problem, the Richard Valeriani-narrated documentary asserts, is that his strategies are being blocked by higher-ups. If he were in charge, the government could win the guerrilla war.

But there's another side to this efficiency of Ochoa, as an American anthropology student named Philippe Bourgeo found out in November 1981 while researching civilian refugees on the Honduran border. He got caught in a raid led by Ochoa, using American-made equipment. In a two-week flight with hundreds of villagers, as he later told a congressional inquiry, "we were all considered fair game by Col. Ochoa and his men, but it was primarily the slower runners who were killed, i.e. the elderly, the infirm and the women carrying babies."

He said he watched infants whose mother's milk had dried up dying of dehydration. He helped squeeze orange juice into the throat of a woman whose chin had been shot off. He remembered how "in the darkness of the night the government forces were firing directly into the sound of crying babies.... The government troops apparently want to kill everyone, whether armed or unarmed, young or old, male or female."

The documentary extends its pro-military sympathies to the

## LATIN AMERICA

# The angles of TV accuracy

U.S. officers training Salvadoran troops. "Few journalists ask me what I think," says one aggrieved soldier, who (as are all the U.S. soldiers) is filmed in shadow to protect his identity. The soldiers think of themselves as heroes of anti-communism, apparently. They claim they stick to training, not fighting, in a war that if lost will help extend communism inexorably through Central America, Mexico and then the U.S.

Whether they're fighting or not, the soldiers have demanded and collected "hostile fire pay," a bonus for troops in the war zone that the documentary portrays as necessary for their morale, eroded by hostile media coverage in the U.S. That pay, however, revives a touchy issue, one raised by a lawsuit brought by 29 members of Congress against the administration. The lawsuit, organized by the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), calls for withdrawing U.S. aid from El Salvador on the grounds that the administration violated the War Powers Resolution. The resolution requires the president to notify Congress within 48 hours of involving U.S. troops outside our borders, and to withdraw them within 60 days unless Congress approves.

"The show's conclusion that U.S. aid is somehow the key to working out a solution belies the fact that the aid is partisan in terms of the civil war," charged CCR spokesperson David Lerner. "It may even be illegal."

"The payment of hostile fire pay strengthens our claims under

the War Powers Act. Those helicopters and advisors are not a neutral force—they are being used to make war on a large sector of the Salvadoran population."

The documentary takes its analysis beyond the military. It describes the elections with simple enthusiasm as a victory for democracy, in spite of repeated proofs of electoral fraud. (And the simple question of vote fraud doesn't even touch the question of what elections mean in an undemocratic context.)

The elections gave legitimacy to a far-right party and its leader, Roberto d'Aubuisson. Can d'Aubuisson be expected to honor any reform one might see from a better-trained military? Whatever his record, argues the ever-pragmatic narration, d'Aubuisson is "the most dynamic and charismatic political force in the country." Current ambassador Deane Hinton reminds Valeriani, "He got a lot of votes." Ex-ambassador Robert White, however, charges that d'Aubuisson's reputation is so bad that he has no international credibility; he cites d'Aubuisson's role in forming and leading death squads.

White's remarks are treated as unsupported allegation, and are followed by d'Aubuisson claiming he will sue White for besmirching his name. Narration asserts that NBC could find "no evidence" for black marks on d'Aubuisson's political record.

That's one reason White calls the documentary "shoddy journalism." "I had published an article in the *New York Times* three weeks earlier," he told *In These Times*, "showing that even the Reagan administration has evidence that d'Aubuisson was involved. It seems shoddy journalism not even to say that."

The documentary, according to a CCR count, uses nine interviews from right spokespersons and four from a moderate or left perspective. The two groups were treated differently, some feel. "There was no follow-up in questions to administration spokesmen," White pointed out.

"And moderate spokesmen got cut off without being able to make important points." Heather Foote of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) said, "It seemed that opposition people were brought in only as counterpoints to major positions in the film." She pointed out further that ignorance was no excuse—NBC had called WOLA repeatedly, as well as calling colleagues at the Institute for Policy Studies and the U.S. Catholic Conference. "I know they were in contact with plenty of people who could have provided a more sophisticated analysis," she said.

But they may not have been interested, if the recollections of a journalist who was in San Salvador when the NBC Reports crew was filming are accurate. "It looked like they thought other journalists were pro-left," the journalist said. "They wouldn't even talk to us. They weren't interviewing the kind of people who would give them a balanced story either. They spent a lot of time with the military and nothing else."

Indeed, the film's perspective is narrowly military, and that may be the way in which is most pervasively biased. Through the eyes of Col. Ochoa, all institutions get rated on the basis of whether they aid a modern military campaign (and a modern military career). The incompetent judiciary is described as too intimidated by left and right to be of any aid to...frustrated military officers. Priests endorsing liberation theology are seen as agents of extended war, whatever their intentions. Even the worst excesses of the current government—for instance, National Guard brutality, including the murder of four North American missionaries—prove the need for better training of the right kind of military man.

### Snoops and spies.

Executive producer Bob Rogers comes naturally to this perspective. From his early Army career in Korea through two decades of TV news work, he has consistently shown an interest in counter-insurgency and the military aspect of foreign policy. His NBC biography proudly relates that he was the first reporter to penetrate the Guatemalan mountains and interview guerrillas there; that he obtained interviews with the CIA's secret army in Laos; that he got the first filmed interview with a CIA operative. He is the only foreign journalist to have flown combat missions with the Israeli air force.

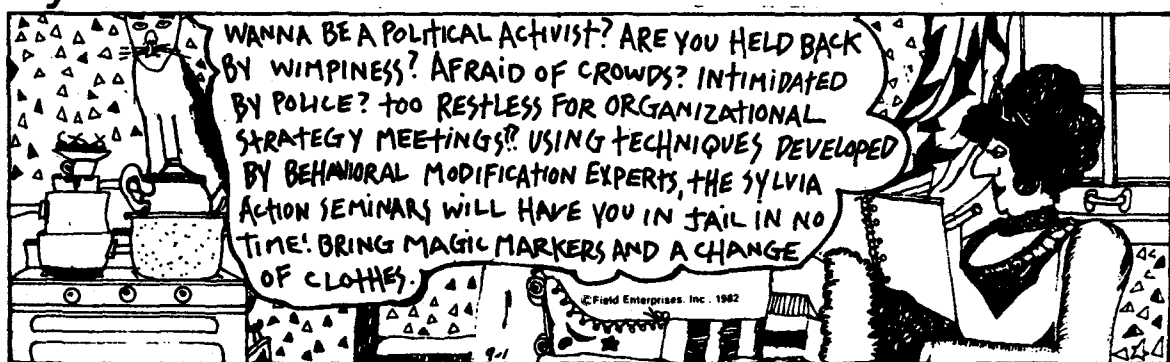
He is not only comfortable with a military view of policy—*The Sometimes Soldier* (1976) and *Spying for Uncle Sam* (1978) were two of his recent projects—but also is apt to see with the eyes of a Cold Warrior. His last-but-one documentary, an NBC White Paper called *The Castro Connection* (made with Marvin Kalb, long a State Department reporter) was an alarmist documentary neatly timed with Reagan's presidential campaign claiming that Central America was in danger of falling to Moscow-backed and Cuban-led international communism.

Rogers seems to like to tell tales of military valor and intrigue. One person who worked on this documentary recalls his after-hours stories of his former career as a CIA agent. The State Department press office claims no special knowledge of Bob Rogers, except for the kind of routine help in lining up interviews that any journalist can get.

Continued on page 23

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander





## MOVIES

By D.D. Guttentplan

*Genocide*, produced by the Simon Weisenthal Center for Holocaust Studies, narrated by Orson Welles and Elizabeth Taylor, and featuring Simon Weisenthal, is not a subtle film. The Oscar-winning documentary uses every imaginable Hollywood device in an attempt to awaken us to the nightmare of our own history. Elmer Bernstein's score, alternately rousing and mournful, combines with a panoply of special effects and adroitly paced editing to produce what is certainly the most expensive looking film on the subject.

The result of all this expense and effort, however, is a film that is manipulative, confusing and spuriously dramatic. *Genocide* is often tasteless—at one point a Mr. Leon Kahn's eyewitness account of the rape and slaughter of a Polish town's Jewish population is read not by Mr. Kahn, who now lives in Vancouver, but by Elizabeth Taylor, whose dramatic rendition is aided by grunts, pants and screams on the soundtrack. The effect is grisly, almost pornographic. But it is to be condemned not on questions of taste, but of timing and credibility.

"The world is forgetting what happened here," says Simon Weisenthal standing outside the walls of Mauthausen, "but I cannot forget." After the closing titles, in what many reviewers have called the film's most chilling sequence, three brief sentences flash across an empty black screen:

•In the 1980 Congressional election in San Diego, Tom Metzger pulled 45,000 votes. At the time, he was grand dragon of the California Ku Klux Klan.

•In North Carolina, Al Covington got 56,000 votes for Attorney General in the 1980 election. He is one of the leaders of the American Nazi movement.

•In a 1981 government survey conducted in West Germany, 18 percent said they believed life was "better under Hitler."

When Hannah Arendt wrote *Eichmann in Jerusalem* in 1963 she could—and did—take for granted an audience that shared a knowledge and abhorrence of the essential facts of the Holocaust. Given the recent spate of books, articles and pamphlets purporting a "revisionist" interpretation of the Final Solution, it is much more difficult to assume, as the English poet Geoffrey Hill does in his elegy "For the Jews in Europe"; "For all that must be gone through, their long death/ Documented and safe, we have enough/ Witnesses."

In a time when the genocidal excesses of our "authoritarian" allies don't even draw verbal protest, it ought to be obvious that we are very much in need of witnesses. However, in a time when it has become intellectually respectable to deny that anything more than an excess of patriotic enthusiasm was at work at Dachau, Auschwitz, Treblinka and Majdanek, it is important that our witnesses be absolutely reliable.

*Genocide* combines an extremely selective approach to history with a gaudily melodramatic style. Fancy graphics pep up a potted history of anti-Semitism from St. John Chrysostom and Martin Luther (who published a tract on "The Jews and Their Lies") to Hitler, Goebbels and



## Hearts, minds and Holocaust

Julius Streicher. At one point the screen is covered with little red Nazi eagles like a fascist version of Pac-Man. Documentary footage of the death camps, hangings and "selections" for the gas chambers is accompanied by "evocative" background music and "dramatic" readings of survivors' accounts.

The result is to make the horrors of the Final Solution seem like something dreamed up by Hollywood hacks. The unintended message is all too clear: "It's only a movie, it's only a movie."

Style aside, *Genocide* leaves itself open to charges of historical distortion. The film glosses over the unpleasant truth that the Nazi's murderous efficiency owed a great deal to the cooperation of the *Judenrat* and Jewish Police in each town. A section on war crimes cuts from the Nuremberg tribunal to Eichmann's trial in Jerusalem—some 15 years later—without comment.

A film that uses a newsreel clip of "The Yanks Are Coming" as its only comment on the first World War is inviting dismissal, not serious attention. A film that uses a tape of Orson Welles' "War of the Worlds" broadcast to sum up the '30s is hardly the means to combat malicious skepticism.

It might be argued that *Genocide's* faults lie with its being a film—an inherently dramatic medium. Yet in *Night and Fog*, probably the best film about the Holocaust ever made, director Alain Resnais manages to combine documentary footage with an extremely understated narrative, letting the facts speak—eloquently, horribly—for themselves. *Genocide* ends up as merely a weepy reminder, a film that asks you to leave your mind at the door—but do bring plenty of Kleenex.

Six million dead Jews deserve more than tears.

### No frills.

*Who Shall Live and Who Shall Die* is also not a subtle film. But this no-frills documentary about "what happened in the U.S. during the extermination of the Jews of Europe" will not only make you angry. It will also make you think.

Directed by Larry Jarvick and produced by James Kurth, it combines newsreel and archival footage with *Hearts and Minds*-style interviews, examining not only the official conduct of the Roosevelt administration and Cordell Hull's State Department, but also the reaction—and inaction—of the American Jewish community to the extermination of European Jews.

Jarvick effectively demolishes the commonly held view that, until the very end of the war, the Final Solution was Hitler's best kept secret. By the summer of 1942 evidence of mass shootings and gassings of Jews in Poland and occupied Russia had reached both the U.S. government and Rabbi Stephen Wise, head of the American Jewish Committee. The State Department, long a bastion of genteel anti-Semitism, did as little as possible, claiming that the plight of "the refugees" was a distraction from the fundamental concern: winning the war. "Respectable" American Jewry, according to the film, was divided into two groups—those whose concern for Roosevelt's image exceeded their concern for European Jews, and those whose

concern for a Zionist state took precedence. Chaim Weizmann, later to become the first president of Israel, is quoted as saying that "only a remnant" could be saved, and those only by going to Palestine.

While many of Jarvick's accusations are certain to generate controversy (the April 18 *New York Times Magazine* featured an article by Lucy Dawidowicz that serves as a mainstream rebuttal to *Who Shall Live*) the film's biggest surprise is its unlikely hero—a self-proclaimed fanatic named Peter Bergson.

Bergson, a Palestinian Jew and a commander in the Irgun terrorist underground, originally came to America to raise funds for a Jewish army to fight the Nazis. In 1942 Bergson founded the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. In addition to frantic lobbying, Bergson took out full page newspaper ads with copy written by Ben Hecht, co-author of *The Front Page*, staged Hecht's pageant *We Shall Never Die* with a cast including Paul Muni and Edward G. Robinson to mobilize public support and generally make as much noise as possible.

Fear of anti-Semitic backlash led Rabbi Wise to try to get Bergson deported, while Zionist leaders were opposed to any action that did not include opening Palestine to Jewish immigration. In 1944, over the objections of both groups, Roosevelt established the War Refugee Board. Described by its own executive director John Pehle as "too little too late," the Board is Bergson's vindication...and his accusation. "It could have been sooner. If you ask me could we have saved more, I must say yes."

*Who Shall Live and Who Shall Die* is a black and white film with only a little piano music at the beginning and end to soften the message. Labeling the Jews as "refugees" was the first step in making them invisible. Letting the world treat their destruction as a "distraction" was, according to this film, an important step in letting them disappear. Even if Jarvick is wrong, even if there really was nothing to be done, hopelessness and inaction will never seem quite so respectable again.

D.D. Guttentplan is a book editor in New York.

*Genocide* information: Simon Weisenthal Center, 9760 Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90035. *Who Shall Live...*: Kino International, 250 W. 57th St., #314, New York, NY 10019.





# Robelo

Continued from page 13  
but independent and having relations with everyone; that we want a democracy for Nicaragua and a pluralistic and just society.

**How would an alliance with Pastora be structured?**

The Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN) will play the political role in this struggle. We don't know much about military tactics, but we can be effective in the internal and external political struggle.

**So Pastora would be the military wing and the MDN would serve as the political wing, similar to the FMLN/FDR?**

Sort of. However, this should not be a closed alliance. It should be open so that other Nicaraguans with a clean history can join.

**Not former Somocistas?**

No!

**Are you familiar with the WASHINGTON POST report of a \$19 million U.S. fund for covert CIA activity to destabilize Nicaragua?**

Yes, and I think that was very nasty. It puts us in a very bad light.

**You mean the article?**

Yes. First you have to understand that the Reagan administration is very stupid in a lot of ways. They are supporting people who have nothing to do with the revolution, but who want to return to a time that we have already overthrown.

**That's where you believe the money is going?**

Apparently. You can see camps in Miami and Honduras, and these are groups of ex-Somoza National Guards.

**The \$19 million is supposedly for military aid, and to covertly finance moderate political and economic forces.**

If that's the case, the only money I have seen coming from the U.S. is going to the private sector through AID, for cooperatives and scholarships. That runs into several million dollars.

**Presumably Pastora will work out of Honduras. Do you think he'll be approached by the U.S., and if so, won't the MDN be drawn into that?**

I think we are too independent for the U.S. We are too anti-imperialistic for them. Besides that, we will not accept CIA money. That's definite. One thing I can say categorically is that the MDN has not received in Nicaragua any foreign funds.

**Not from Mexico? Not from Europe?**

Not a single penny while we were in Nicaragua. But I want to be honest with you, since we have been in exile, we have received some money from Latin American friends, but only from individuals, not governments.

**What about U.S. support of the Somocistas and their recruitment and training of the Miskito Indians?**

CIA money doesn't leave tracks.

**And the Miskito connection to you?**

The general coordinator of Misurasata is Brooklyn Rivera, who joined Pastora in Rome, so there is contact between the legitimate leadership of the Miskitos and Commander Pastora.

**One diplomatic source told us that repression in Nicaragua has reached the point where telephone calls are monitored. Is that true?**

No doubt. You being American journalists going into Nicaragua, you will be watched. The security is very effective. The Cubans are very effective, security-wise.

**The Cubans set up the security system?**

Yes. I'm 100 percent sure your calls will be checked.

**Has the State of Emergency created this repressive apparatus?**

Not created. Put into function.

**Let's change the subject. Is the FSLN supplying arms to El Salvador?**

I have no evidence of that, to be honest. However, I have no reason to think they wouldn't. There's a debt the FSLN has to pay. The cost of the revolution was financed mainly by money given by the Salvadoran guerrillas—money they received from kidnappings in El Salvador. Millions of dollars. So how can the FSLN say no when the Salvadorans need help?

**What about arms for Pastora?**

Some come from the black market, but most come from inside Nicaragua. There were a lot of "buzones" left after the war with Somoza. People hid their weapons, wrapped in plastic and buried. Lots of these "buzones" are being dug up and delivered to Pastora groups inside Nicaragua and other places. This is the main source.

**A Pastora aide we talked with said they didn't intend a strategy of hit-and-run raids across the borders, but instead would push for an uprising within Nicaragua. Is that your understanding?**

Yes. And added to that is that we also have to wage a political struggle. In other words, while there are not going to be hit-and-run operations, there is going to be a political struggle internally and internationally,

with a buildup of military strength to be used if the political struggle fails.

**Is it true that Pastora is friends with Miguel de la Madrid, and if so, does that signal possible support from Mexico?**

Yes. And I could foresee a change of policy in the Mexican government when they change administrations.

**What do you have in mind as far as domestic struggle?**

You will see more and more desertions from the army and militia. You will see more clandestine radio stations. We'll be engaging in political sabotage. What I

mean is that we'll have political objectives, not economic objectives. We don't intend to hurt the economy, only show that politically the FSLN has been beaten.

**Can you give us an idea of how the sabotage will manifest itself?**

No.

**Are you now organizing within Nicaragua?**

Of course. The main battleground is Nicaragua. We have in operation a radio station inside the country, the Voice of Sandino. You will see more and more deserters. ■

# Mexico

Continued from page 9

that calls for decreasing government deficits by reducing social expenditures and increasing the cost of goods controlled by government enterprises (especially gasoline), a return to a single exchange rate and the unfreezing of domestic dollar amounts. Not surprisingly, organized workers are grumbling about the effects of the program on their standard of living.

Mexican analysts expect that the inevitable stabilization agreement not only will damage the nation's already floundering productive capacities (particularly in the area of basic food and other production destined for mass consumption), but also significantly increase unemployment. While the agreement may help reduce inflation and restore balance to the foreign trade account, it will not solve the nation's fundamental problem: inadequate domestic production of the basic goods that its population needs for productive employment and survival.

—David Barkin

# Ramirez

Continued from page 13

**So the Cubans had nothing to do with setting up your security apparatus?**

Not in its organization nor in its development. The quantities of plots and conspiracies that we have discovered have been a direct result of us being more intelligent than our enemies. Of course, now that we're confronting the CIA via the military invasions they're directing in Zelaya Norte (Atlantic Coast), that's another thing. So we have to work even harder now, not just in a military sense, but in intelligence, too.

**Will you be asking for outside help?**

No, we'll take care of ourselves. I don't believe any intelligence apparatus in the world has the experience to deal with this kind of situation. However, the CIA has very little imagination and everything they tried against Cuba is what they are repeating here—even though it didn't work. Conspiracies, invasions, infiltrations—it's all the same.

**Robelo claims that Brooklyn Rivera [a former Nicaraguan Miskito leader now in self-exile] joined Pastora in Rome. Do you recognize a Miskito connection to Robelo/Pastora?**

Rivera was with Pastora in Rome. The problem is that the Miskitos are not very many people. Part of them have always lived in Honduras and therefore are Hondurans. The other part are Nicaraguans.

It's very difficult to believe the counter-revolutionary statistics. Robelo/Pastora claim they have 4,000 while the Som-

## DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

**Association for Workplace Democracy**  
1747 Connecticut Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20009

**The Citizens Party-National Office**  
1623 Connecticut Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 20009

**The Citizens Party of Illinois**  
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603  
Chicago, IL 60602  
(312) 332-2066

**Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy**  
120 Maryland Ave., NE  
Washington, DC 20002

**The Citizens Party of Minnesota**  
3255 Hennepin Avenue,  
Room 121  
Minneapolis, MN 55408  
(612) 827-5362

**DSA-Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM)**  
853 Broadway, Room 801  
New York, NY 10003  
3244 N. Clark Street  
Chicago, IL 60657

29 29th Street  
San Francisco, CA 94110

**Midwest Academy**  
600 West Fullerton Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60614

**National Center for Economic Alternatives**  
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20036

**New Patriot Alliance/DSOL**  
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305  
Chicago, IL 60604

**Socialist Party**  
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Paul Ginger**.

CHICAGO, IL

**September 19**

"November 1982: Progressive Candidates in Chicago and Illinois" is the topic of the September meeting of Democratic Socialists of America. Nancy Shier, the Political Action Director of AFSCME in Illinois will be the featured speaker on Sunday at 7:30 p.m., St. Nicolai Church, 3000 N. Kedzie. Branch meetings on women, health, gays, electoral politics, labor, the Second City Socialist School, peace, disarmament, new members, and more will follow the discussion. For more information, call (312) 871-7700. Non-members welcome. Childcare provided.

DETROIT, MI

**October 14-16**

"Twentieth Century Labor in Perspective," Fourth Annual North American Labor History Conference, McGregor Center, Wayne State University. Keynote: Joyce Miller, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women. Sessions on autoworkers and unemployment, worker insurgency, class, organizing service workers. For information write: Labor History Conference, History Department, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.

INDIANA, PA

**October 21-23**

Indiana University of Pennsylvania is sponsoring a conference "The Industrial North: The Future of Jobs, Productivity and Community." Participants include Staughton Lynd, Barry Bluestone, Jack Russell, Harley Shaiken, Jack Sheinkman, Stuart Butler (consultant to the Heritage Foundation), and Alfred Warren (vice president for industrial relations, General Motors). Contact Irwin Marcus, Department of History, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Indiana PA 15705 for additional details.

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# News

Continued from page 20

The Foreign Service desk has no record of him either. Still, if the State Department claims no ties to Rogers, it does like his work. Press officer Susan Clyde found the documentary "well done, especially in describing the different branches of the military, something I think the American people don't usually distinguish very well."

Does this documentary signal a right-wing trend in TV reporting? Not necessarily. A CBS Reports documentary, *Guatemala*, aired September 1, suggests a more complicated reality. This

Ed Rabel-narrated special produced by Andrew Lack asks straightforwardly, "Should the U.S. give aid to Guatemala?" It addresses the question by identifying major interests in the answer to it. Two groups become the focus: U.S. business interests and the Guatemalan politico-military leadership with its U.S. support system.

Neither comes off looking good, although they have no one to blame but themselves—the producers just give them the rope and they do the rest. One businessman enthuses, "We don't have restrictions as to environmental things and...there's just no restrictions or rules at all. So that makes it nice."

He denies a politician's allegations that 120 party leaders had been assassinated within 18

months. "I don't think there's been 120 people of all types assassinated here in the last year. I mean, I'm not counting the peasants or, I mean, men of that category."

Politicians are just as frank. General Carlos Arana Osorio, an ex-president and known, the narrator tells us, as "the Jackal" for the brutality of an anti-guerrilla campaign he led, describes the Indian as a "throw-back" and a tool—"a robot or a kamikaze"—of communism. (Indians make up four-sevenths of Guatemala's population.) Lionel Cisniega head of the MLN political party, is asked why it is often called "the party of organized violence": "Organized sound is melody," he says. "Organized violence could be strength. Sometimes you have to face the truth. That was the same in Nagasaki

and Hiroshima. You had to kill people."

With spokespersons like this, you hardly need Representative Tom Harkin's (D-Iowa) reminder of U.S. involvement in former Guatemalan coups and military violence to make you doubt that military aid is a good idea. But the interviewers pursue his comments and balance them with a critical interview with State Department spokesperson Steven Bosworth. They follow the claims of born-again Christian president Rios Montt that the military has reformed its brutal practices with testimony by Indians of exterminating assaults.

*Guatemala* makes a genuine contribution to public debate on American foreign policy, unlike *Whatever Happened*, which pre-empt questions with the rigid

narrowness of its viewpoint. The CBS report in fact reasserts the reputation of TV news against cynics of both right and left. Not that it's coldly objective—this show has a perspective too. Narration frankly dubs anti-Indian sentiment "racist," and it asserts straightforwardly that the government has been repressive.

But the CBS documentary puts its focus on the question many Americans want to know—not "whatever happened" somewhere else, but whether the U.S. should be involved in whatever is happening. By not only airing the different views but identifying the financial and political stake behind the opinions, the CBS report on Guatemala shows that good reporting goes beyond getting the facts and going by the book.

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

GLOBAL THREATS to Third World minorities reported and analyzed in *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. For sample: Cultural Survival, 11 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138.

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SEPTEMBER JEWISH CURRENTS—Morris U. Schappas, "Prison Experiences," Charles R. Allen Jr., "Where to Deport War Criminals," Editorial, "Israeli and the Palestinians." Single copy postpaid \$1.50. Subscription \$10 USA, Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., N.Y.C. 10003.

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# TMI Tourists

Article and photo  
by Paul Choitz

## HARRISBURG, P.A.

"Welcome to Three Mile Island," the sign reads as I walk into the square little cinderblock visitors center nestled in a cornfield on highway 441. Behind me lies TMI, silent, surrounded by the cool moat of the Susquehanna River. Its tower snouts rise to the sky as more than 1,500 attendants try to cure its internal distress.

For the first time this summer, buses are shuttling the curious throughout the island.

At the front desk, a woman from New York is debating with a center guide about the feasibility of nuclear power. "They just don't know that much about solar energy," says the guide. "I'm into bio-mass myself."

The wall behind the desk is decorated with hardhats and bumperstickers ("TMI Lights Up My Life," "Turn Off Iran—Turn On TMI," "Gone Fission").

Farther in, displays tell how a reactor works, how the accident happened and how "we live in a radioactive world. Radiation is all about us and is part of our natural environment." Upbeat trumpet music—like a "Live at Five" news broadcast—heralds the start of the 13-minute color videotape.

A stroll to the second floor observation deck gives a spectacular view of the island, and of people getting their pictures taken in front of the historic site.

"Do you know which of those towers the accident happened in?" a young woman opposed to nuclear power asks me. The towers are just for cooling water, I say. The real action happened in the squatty domed building next to them.

"We spent last night in town," she says. "It's amazing, the town people don't really care about this. They just joke around about it. They say: 'Hey, we glow in the dark.'"

While we wait for the bus tour, at nearby Yinger's Greenhouse among the grass seed, fertilizers and bug sprays, we can shop for TMI souvenirs. There are TMI banks, lamps, glasses, key chains, place mats, plates, rocks, matches, ashtrays and much more. There are over 20 styles of T-shirts.

The tour has rules: no cameras and no children under 13. "Not because of any radiological reasons," Ralph DeSantis, our tour guide, assures us. We're moving along the tree-lined 441, past Yinger's and down the road to the guard house and the bridge to the island. He swings open the door at the guard house and a security guard takes the list of names of the people on the bus.

The island looks much like any

industrial site. Lots of cyclone fence, drums of stuff, people in hard hats, many of whom wave in a friendly way as we go by.

"While we're running, Unit 1 produces 800 megawatts of electricity," Ralph says when we've parked. "That's enough electricity for 700,000 people. Every day Unit 1 doesn't run we lose half a million dollars.... On the left is Unit 1 containment building. Get a good look at it there. We call it containment because it's built and designed to contain radiation. The building itself is 210 feet tall and the outside walls are 3½ feet thick with reinforced concrete. It is designed to withstand a Boeing 727 air crash going at 200 knots....Also earthquakes up to 6.5 on the Richter scale. It's probably one of the strongest built buildings in the world."

Unit 1 is out of the running right now too, although it was undamaged by the accident. It may stay shut down because area residents voted overwhelmingly in a recent referendum against restarting it. General Public Utilities hopes to get it going by the end of the year, after fixing some steam tubes.

Ralph is explaining how the towers work to cool the water used by the turbines. If the hot water was dumped back into the river without cooling, he says, it would kill the fish.

"There are fish in the river?" the woman from New York asks.

"There's lots of fishlife in that river," says Ralph. "But we haven't affected any of it, because the water is not hot. This is one of the best areas for recreation and fishing in the whole river." We move on.

"That's where the accident occurred, inside that building," Ralph says pointing. We drive to the side for a better view. "The radiation releases were up through that rusty colored stack...."

Every eye is glued to the spot. "Radiation never came out through the building. The building worked as it was designed to do," explains Ralph. A question flies from the back: "Would there be a problem if there was a missile attack?"

Ralph doesn't blink, he has answered that one a hundred times. "Well, it would all depend on what kind of missile was used. The buildings are very sturdy."

"What if a bomb was dropped?" someone asks.

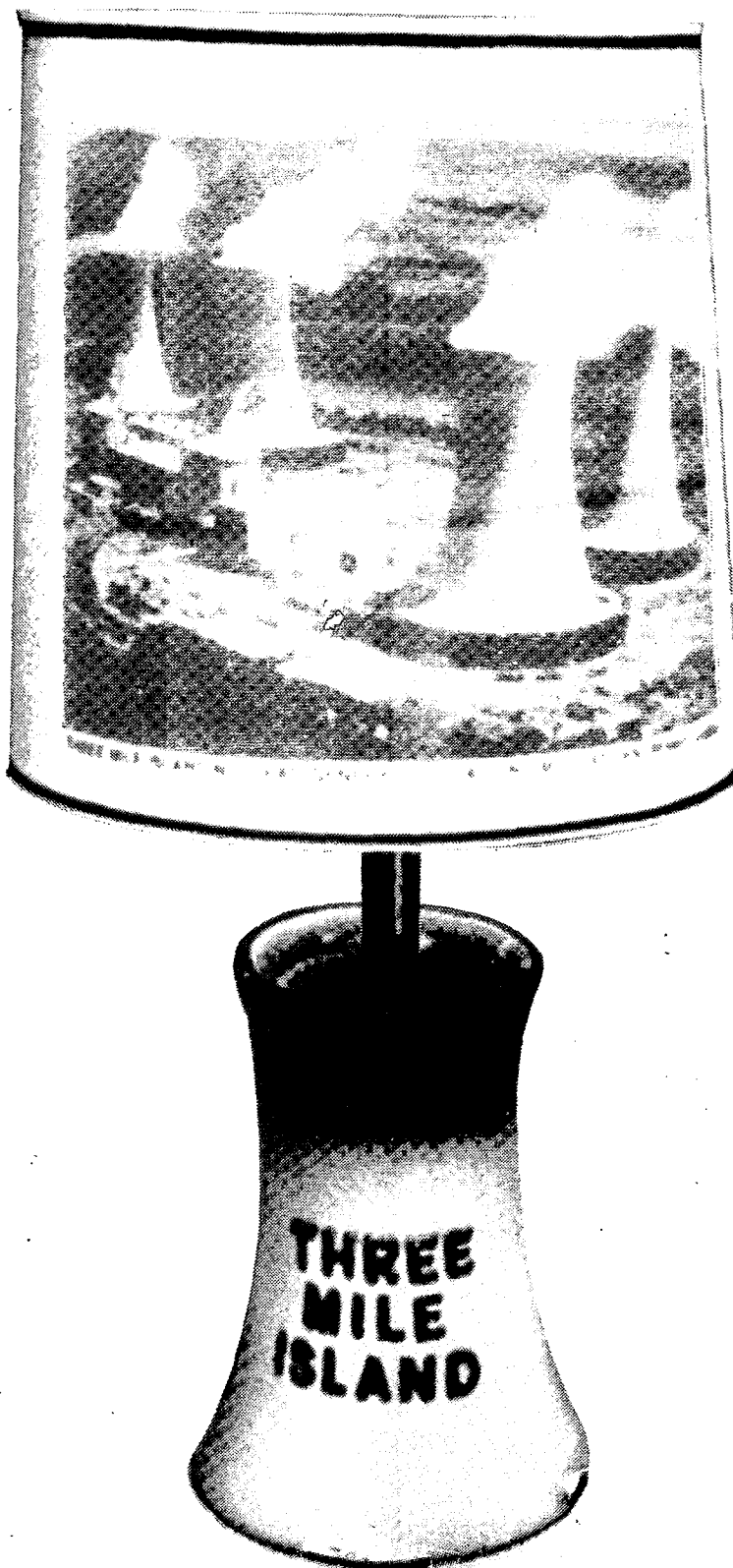
"You mean a nuclear bomb?"

"No. Just, like a 1,000 kg. conventional bomb, something that could make a pretty big hole."

"I really don't know," Ralph says.

The bus parks at the base of the great white monolith by a

After visiting  
the cooling tower  
you can buy a  
T-shirt—"A little  
nukey never hurt  
anyone."



narrow walkway. The door opens into an enormous cavern: Tranquil green waters lap gently beneath our feet as we step onto a small wooden deck. The temperature has dropped noticeably and a wafting breeze cools our damp backs. The smoothly sculpted walls curve up gracefully, holding the late-day sun in a parabola so sharp that we cannot see the sky except reflected in the water. Two pigeons fly easily up to the sunlight.

"Cooling towers have more or less become a symbol of nuclear power," Ralph says, after letting the tower do its soothing. "They are very photogenic and many newspapers have really made them a symbol, whereas the actual reactors are the dome-shaped buildings. The main reason for the cooling tower is environmental...."

Before the tour, Ralph had told me that their most effective public relations tool was the bus tour. "Just getting people out on the island, where they can see people working. Gee, some of the stories you hear from some of the local people, about workers whose legs are glowing, and everything," he shakes his head. "The tours are very effective."

They must be. The island and plant become demystified—just another industrial area, a chunk of concrete that screwed up. And the fact that people—you and me—can go out there proves its safety. "A little nukey never hurt anyone" reads a T-shirt at Yinger's.

"It's the old thing about information helping people make sounder decisions," Jack Guerin, director of public affairs, told me afterwards.

Back at the tour, someone has finally asked the meltdown question.

"According to the investigation conclusions," Ralph says, "if there was a meltdown in Unit 2, the consequences would not have been any worse than what happened."

The bus ride back is quiet. At the parking lot people go straight for their cars. Ed, Mary and Ron are from a town nearby.

"We fished on the island before it was built," says Ed. He thinks power plants are a small part of the nuclear problem. "Don't even worry about this compared with the nuts flying around [with bombs]," he says.

I ask another man if he was worried about radiation during the tour.

He smiles. "They said it was safe, didn't they?"

Paul Choitz writes on environmental issues for a variety of publications in Philadelphia.